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THE LIVES OF HUGH LATIMER, *BISHOP OF WORCESTER.* AND OF BERNARD GILPIN.

K

BY WILLIAM GILPIN, M. A.
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ERRATA.

P. 1 l. 14 and 15, dele *that*.
P. 2 l. 1 and 2, dele *that*.
P. 12 l. 19, for *for*, read *in favour of*.
P. 15 l. 18, read, live *like* a chriſtian.
P. 78 l. 9, read, *the* prieſthood.
P. 79 l. 2, read, he was *one* of.
P. 188 l. 26, dele *found*.

THE LIFE OF HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

SECTION I.

HUGH LATIMER was born at Thirkeſton in Leiceſterſhire, about the year 1470. His father was a yeoman of good reputation; and on a ſmall farm, in thoſe frugal times, maintained a large family; ſix daughters, and a ſon. Mr. Latimer, in one of his court ſermons in king Edward's time, inveighing againſt the oppreſſion then exerciſed in the country by the nobility and gentry, and ſpeaking of the moderation of landlords a few years before, and the plenty in which their tenants lived, gives his audience, in his familiar way, this entertaining picture of an old Engliſh yeoman. "My father, ſays he, upon a farm of four pounds a "year at the utmoſt, tilled as much ground as kept half "a dozen men; that he had it ſtocked with an hundred "ſheep, and thirty cows; that he found the king a man "and horſe, himſelf remembering to have buckled on "his father's harneſs, when he went to Black-heath; "that

"that he gave his daughters five pounds apiece at mar-
"riage; that he lived hoſpitably among his neighbours,
"and was not backward in his alms to the poor."

We meet with no accounts of Mr. Latimer worth relating, till we find him a maſter of arts, in prieſts orders at Cambridge. Here his youth had been wholly employed on the divinity of the times. He read the ſchoolmen and the ſcriptures with the ſame reverence; and held Thomas a Becket and the apoſtles in equal honour; in a word, he was a zealous papiſt.

Many of the reformed opinions, which were then fermenting in Germany, had by this time diſcovered themſelves in England. The legiſlature had not yet interfered; but the clergy had taken the alarm, and the danger of the church was already become the popular cry. Mr. Latimer, among others, heard, with high indignation, theſe novel teachers: zeal wrought the ſame effect in him, that intereſt did in the many; and while others were apprehenſive that their temporals were in danger, he was concerned for the ſouls of men. The laſt times, he thought, were now approaching: impiety was gaining ground apace: what lengths might not men be expected to run, when they began to queſtion even the infallibility of the pope?

As his well-meant zeal was thus inflamed, it of courſe broke out into all the effects of bigotry. He inveighed publicly and privately againſt the reformers. If any perſon, ſuſpected of holding their tenets, read

lectures

lectures in the ſchools, Mr. Latimer was ſure to be there to drive out the ſcholars; and having an opportunity, when he commenced batchelor of divinity, to give an open teſtimony of his diſlike to their proceedings, he made an oration againſt Melanchthon, whom he treated with great ſeverity for his impious innovations in religion. His zeal was ſo much taken notice of in the univerſity, that he was elected into the office of croſs-bearer in all public proceſſions; an employment, which he accepted with reverence, and diſcharged with becoming ſolemnity.

Among thoſe in Cambridge, who at this time favoured the reformation, the moſt conſiderable was Thomas Bilney. He was a man of a holy life; and having long obſerved the ſcandalous ſtate of monkery in the nation, and the prevailing debauchery of the clergy, he was led to doubt, whether their principles might not be as corrupt as their practice; and whether the new opinions, then gaining ground, might not be more than plauſible. Time increaſed his ſuſpicions. He read Luther's writings; and approved them. He converſed with proteſtants; and found them men of temper and learning. He talked with papiſts; and obſerved a bitterneſs and rancour in their ſtyle, which ill became a good cauſe. In ſhort, he began to ſee popery in a very diſagreeable light; and made no ſcruple to own it.

It was Mr. Latimer's good fortune to be well acquainted with Mr. Bilney; who had likewiſe conceived very favourable ſentiments of him. Bilney had known

his life in the univerſity, a life ſtrictly moral and devout: he aſcribed his failings to the genius of his religion; and notwithſtanding his more than ordinary zeal in the profeſſion of that religion, he appeared ſo candid; and ſo intirely unprejudiced by any ſiniſter views, that he could not but be open to any truths, that ſhould be ſet properly before him.

Induced by theſe favourable appearances, Mr. Bilney failed not, as opportunities offered, to ſuggeſt many things to him in general about corruptions in religion; and would frequently drop a hint, that in the Romiſh church in particular there were perhaps ſome things, which rather deviated from apoſtolick plainneſs. He would inſtance in ſome of its groſſer tenets; and aſk, whether the ſcriptural authority alledged for them was wholly ſufficient? if not, whether tradition were a ſafe vehicle for doctrines of ſuch importance? Thus ſtarting cavils, and infuſing ſuſpicions, he prepared the way for his whole creed, which at length he opened; concluding with an earneſt perſuaſion, that Mr. Latimer would only place the two ſides of the queſtion before him; and take an honeſt conſcience for his guide.

How Mr. Latimer at firſt received theſe free declarations, and by what ſteps he attained a ſettlement in his religious opinions, we meet with no account; this only we find in general, that Mr. Bilney's friendſhip toward him had its effect.

Mr.

Mr. Latimer no ſooner ceaſed from being a zealous papiſt, than he became, agreably to the warmth of his conſtitution, a zealous proteſtant. He had nothing of that neutral coolneſs in his temper, which the Athenian lawgiver diſcouraged in a commonwealth. Accordingly we ſoon find him very active in ſupporting and propagating the reformed opinions. He endeavoured with great aſſiduity to make converts, both in the town, and in the univerſity; preaching in public, exhorting in private, and every where preſſing the neceſſity of a holy life, in oppoſition to thoſe outward performances, which were then thought the eſſentials of religion.

A behavour of this kind was ſoon taken notice of. Cambridge was the ſeat of ignorance, bigotry, and ſuperſtition: every new opinion was watched with the utmoſt jealouſy; and Mr. Latimer was ſoon conſidered as one, who wiſhed ill to the eſtabliſhed church.

The firſt remarkable oppoſition he met with from the popiſh party, was occaſioned by a courſe of ſermons, which he preached during the holidays of Chriſtmas, before the univerſity. In theſe ſermons he ſhewed the impiety of indulgences, the uncertainty of tradition, and the vanity of works of ſupererogation: he inveighed againſt that multiplicity of ceremonies with which true religion was incumbered; and the pride and uſurpation of the Romiſh hierarchy: but what he moſt inſiſted on was, that great abuſe of locking up the ſcripture in an unknown tongue; giving his reaſons without any reſerve, why it ought to be put in every one's hands.

Few

Few of the tenets of popery were then queſtioned in England, but ſuch as tended to a relaxation of morals. Tranſubſtantiation, and other points of a ſpeculative caſt, ſtill held their dominion. Mr. Latimer therefore, chiefly dwelt upon thoſe of immoral tendency. He ſhewed what true religion was; that it was ſeated in the heart; and that, in compariſon with it, external appointments were of no value.

Great was the outcry occaſioned by theſe diſcourſes. Mr. Latimer was then a preacher of ſome eminence, and began to diſplay a remarkable addreſs in adapting himſelf to the capacities of the people. The orthodox clergy obſerving him thus followed, thought it high time to oppoſe him openly. This taſk was undertaken by Dr. Buckenham, prior of the black friers, who appeared in the pulpit a few Sundays after; and with great pomp and prolixity, ſhewed the dangerous tendency of Mr. Latimer's opinions: particularly he inveighed againſt his heretical notions of having the ſcriptures in Engliſh, laying open the ill effects of ſuch an innovation. If that hereſy, ſaid he, ſhould prevail, we ſhould ſoon ſee an end of every thing uſeful among us. The ploughman reading, that if he put his hand to the plough, and ſhould happen to look back, he was unfit for the kingdom of God, would ſoon lay aſide his labour: the baker likewiſe reading, that a little leaven will corrupt his lump, would give us very inſipid bread: the ſimple man likewiſe finding himſelf commanded to pluck out his eyes, in a few years we ſhould have the nation full of blind beggars.

Mr.

Mr. Latimer could not help liſtening with a ſecret pleaſure to this ingenious reaſoning. Perhaps he had acted as prudently, if he had conſidered the prior's arguments as unanſwerable: but he was then a young man, and could not reſiſt the vivacity of his temper, which ſtrongly inclined him to expoſe this ſolemn trifler.

The whole univerſity met together on Sunday, when it was known Mr. Latimer would preach. That vein of pleaſantry and humour, which ran through all his words and actions, would have here, it was imagined, full ſcope: and, to ſay the truth, the preacher was not a little conſcious of his own ſuperiority. To complete the ſcene, prior Buckenham himſelf entered the church, with his coul about his ſhoulders; and ſeated himſelf before the pulpit.

Mr. Latimer, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, placed them in the ſtrongeſt light, and then rallied them with ſuch a flow of wit, and at the ſame time with ſo much good humour, that, without the appearance of ill-nature, he made his adverſary in the higheſt degree ridiculous. He then, with great addreſs, appealed to the people, deſcanted upon the low eſteem in which their holy guides had always held their underſtandings; expreſſed the utmoſt offence at their being treated with ſuch contempt, and wiſhed his honeſt countrymen might only have the uſe of the ſcripture till they ſhewed themſelves ſuch abſurd interpreters. He concluded his diſcourſe with a few obſervations upon ſcripture-metaphors. A figurative manner of

ſpeech,

ſpeech, he ſaid, was common in all languages: repreſentations of this kind were in daily uſe, and generally underſtood. Thus for inſtance, ſaid he, when we ſee a fox painted in a frier's hood, nobody imagines that a fox is meant; but that craft and hypocriſy are deſcribed, which are ſo often found diſguiſed in that garb.—Thus was a wiſe man miſled by the impulſe of vanity, and highly delighted with the little glory of having made a dunce ridiculous.

It is probable, Mr. Latimer himſelf thought this levity unbecoming; for when Venetus not long after attacked him upon the ſame ſubject, and in manner the moſt ſcurrilous and provoking, we find him uſing a graver ſtrain. He anſwers like a ſcholar, what is worth anſwering; and like a man of ſenſe, leaves the abſurd part to confute itſelf. Whether he ridiculed however, or reaſoned, his harangues were ſo animated, that they ſeldom failed of their intended effect: his raillery ſhut up the prior within his monaſtery; and his arguments drove Venetus from the univerſity.

Theſe advantages increaſed the credit of the proteſtant party in Cambridge, of which Bilney and Latimer were at the head. The meekneſs, gravity, and unaffected piety of the former; and the chearfulneſs, good humour, and eloquence of the latter, wrought much upon the junior ſtudents.

Theſe things greatly alarmed the orthodox clergy. Of this ſort were all the heads of colleges, and, in general,

neral, the ſenior part of the univerſity. Frequent convocations were held; tutors were admoniſhed to have a ſtrict eye over their pupils; and academical cenſures of all kinds were inflicted.

But academical cenſures were found inſufficient. Mr. Latimer continued to preach; and hereſy to ſpread. The true ſpirit of popery therefore began to exert itſelf, and to call aloud for the ſecular arm.

Dr. Weſt was at that time biſhop of Ely. To him, as their dioceſan, the heads of the popiſh party applied. But the biſhop was not a man for their purpoſe: he was a papiſt indeed, but moderate. He came to Cambridge however; examined the ſtate of religion, and at their intreaty, preached againſt heretics: but he would do nothing further. Only, indeed, he ſilenced Mr. Latimer; which, as he had preached himſelf, was an inſtance of his prudence.

This gave no great check to the reformers. There happened at that time to be a proteſtant prior in Cambridge, Dr. Barnes, of the Auſtin friers. His monaſtery was exempt from epiſcopal juriſdiction; and the prior being a great admirer of Mr. Latimer, he boldly licenced him to preach in his houſe. Hither his party followed him; and the late oppoſition having greatly excited the curioſity of the people, the friers chapel was ſoon unable to contain the crowds that attended. Among others, it is remarkable, that the biſhop of Ely was often one of his hearers; and was candid enough to declare,

declare, that Mr. Latimer was one of the beſt preachers he had ever heard.

The credit to his cauſe which Mr. Latimer had thus gained by preaching, he maintained by a holy life. Mr. Bilney and he did not ſatisfy themſelves with acting unexceptionably; but were daily giving inſtances of goodneſs; which malice could not ſcandalize, nor envy miſinterpret. They were always together concerting their ſchemes. The place where they uſed to walk, was long afterwards known by the name of the Heretic's hill. Cambridge at that time was full of their good actions: their charities to the poor, and friendly viſits to the ſick and unhappy, were then common topics.

But their good lives had no merit with their adverſaries. With them it mattered not what a man's life was, if his opinions were orthodox. They could give great allowances for the former; but the leaſt miſtake in the latter, was unpardonable. Such is the true ſpirit of bigotry and prieſtcraft; that phariſaical ſpirit, which, inverting the tables of the law, places points of leaſt importance uppermoſt.

More of this ſpirit never reigned than at this time in Cambridge. The popiſh party, among whom charity ſeemed extinguiſhed, were now inflamed to the uttermoſt. The good actions of their adverſaries ſerved only as fuel to increaſe the heat of perſecution. Impotent themſelves, and finding their dioceſan either unable or unwilling to work their purpoſes, they determined at length

length upon an appeal to the higher powers. Here at leaſt, they expected countenance. Heavy complaints were accordingly carried to court of the increaſe of herecy; and formal depoſitions againſt the principal abettors of it.

But as a new ſcene will here open, and different characters make their appearance, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of the times, and of the moſt conſiderable perſons then in action.

SEC.

SECTION II.

PRoteſtantiſm, which was now ſpreading apace in Germany, and many other parts of Europe, had yet met with no public countenance in England. The regular clergy, encroaching more and more, had at length engroſſed one third of the kingdom. A large ſhare of temporal power was the conſequence of this wealth; and the groſs ignorance of the times eſtabliſhed them as fully in a ſpiritual dominion. From the days of Wicliff, many began to ſpeak with ſome freedom, and to think with more, of the prevailing corruptions of popery. But ſevere laws, purchaſed of needy kings, and executed by cruel prieſts, held theſe ſectaries in awe. The inclinations of the people, however, thro' this whole period of time, ran ſtrong againſt the clergy; and Luther was more than a little obliged to Wicliff for his reception in England.

As ſoon therefore as the opinions of the reformers were introduced, they were warmly eſpouſed; the generality of the people were diſpoſed for them; and proteſtants in many places began to form parties. But in thoſe intolerant times when kings thought for their ſubjects, private opinion and the inclinations of the people were little conſulted; reaſons of ſtate prevailed; and Henry the eighth, who then reigned in England, had yet his motives for holding fair with the court of Rome.

The

The great cauſe which at this time held the nation attentive, was the king's divorce; a ſuit of law one of the moſt famous in hiſtory. After cohabiting near twenty years with his brother's wife, this religious prince, upon the appearance of Ann Boleyn at court, was ſuddenly ſeized with ſcruples of conſcience about the legality of his marriage; and not only ſchoolmen and canoniſts, but popes, and emperors were concerned in the affair.

At that time one of the moſt wily prelates held the ſee of Rome. He had intereſts to manage with Charles the fifth, who was averſe from the divorce. He had intereſts likewiſe to manage with Henry. Theſe croſs circumſtances called for all his ſubtility. And indeed he ſhewed himſelf a maſter of addreſs. He amuſed each in his turn, and meant honeſtly to neither; perplexing, palliating, explaining, and perplexing again, that he might thoroughly deliberate before he choſe his party. The emperor in the mean time was ſatisfied with his conduct; and Henry thought him tardy indeed, but ſtill never doubted his diſpoſition to ſerve him. A legantine court was erected in England, and the affair went on with all the diſpatch that two ſolemn cardinals could make.

While the king thus expected an end of his buſineſs in a regular way, which of all things he deſired, he was careful in obſerving all forms of civility with the pope. The poor proteſtants in many inſtances felt the effects of his complaiſance. He even went ſo far as to uſe his own princely pen againſt them; and, as the courtiers of his

his time uſed to ſay, wrote incomparably well. No new laws indeed were enacted. The old ones againſt Wicliff's hereſy were thought ſufficient. Theſe ſtatutes were revived, and the biſhops, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom took very effectual pains to make thoſe under their care acquainted with them.

The principal perſons at this time concerned in eccleſiaſtical affairs, were cardinal Woolſey, Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Tunſtal biſhop of London.

Woolſey had as few virtues to qualify as many vices as moſt men. Abilities indeed he had, the abilities of a ſtateſman; but his chief merit was an artful application to his maſter's foibles: he could condeſcend even to ſerve his pleaſures. Where his prince's humours did not interfere, the principal ſprings of his conduct were ambition, pride, and avarice; all which vices he found the means to gratify in a manner unparalleled in Engliſh ſtory. It was humouroufly ſaid, he held the church of England in commendam. As to matters of faith, he was eaſy, and was therefore indeed no zealot: in practice he ſcarce obſerved decency; yet he was a great advocate for the reformation of the clergy; and contributed every way towards it, but by ſetting a good example.

Warham was now an old man. He had been the favourite of the laſt reign, and was practiſed in all the artifices of Henry the ſeventh's policy; an able ſtateſman, and an artful courtier. But he had out-lived his capacity for buſineſs; had withdrawn himſelf from all court

court dependencies, and led at this time a very retired life; indulging a polite indolence among learned men, of whom he was a great patron; himſelf a man of letters. The duties of his function, he thought, conſiſted chiefly in oppoſing heretics; and the ſevereſt kind of oppoſition he thought the beſt. In other reſpects he was a good man; would have been no diſgrace to a better religion; and was an ornament to popery.

But of all the prelates of thoſe times, Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of London, was moſt deſervedly eſteemed. He was a papiſt only by profeſſion; no way influenced by the ſpirit of popery: he was a good catholic, and had juſt notions of the genius of chriſtianity. He conſidered a good life as the end, and faith as the mean; and never branded as an heretic that perſon, however erroneous his opinions might be in points leſs fundamental, who had ſuch a belief in Chriſt, as made him live a chriſtian. He was juſt the reverſe therefore of Warham, and thought the perſecution of proteſtants one of the things moſt foriegn to his function. For parts and learning he was eminent: his knowledge was extenſive; and his taſte in letters ſuperior to moſt of his contemporaries. The great foible, of which he ſtands accuſed in hiſtory, was the pliancy of his temper. Like moſt of the biſhops of thoſe times, he had been bred in a court; and was indeed too dexterous in the arts there practiſed.

Such was the ſituation of things, and ſuch the perſons in power, when complaints came from Cambridge of

of the daily encreaſe of hereſy. Tunſtal, with an air of ſanctity, ſhook his head, declaring it was ſhameful indeed, very ſhameful! Warham raged loud, and talked of nothing but fire and extirpation, root and branch. While the cardinal treated the whole as a jeſt, attributing it to the envy of a few illiterate prieſts againſt men of ſuperior merit.

But complaints from Cambridge increaſing daily, and Warham of courſe growing more importunate, the cardinal was at length obliged to ſhake off his indifference, and begin to act. He erected a court therefore, conſiſting of biſhops, divines, and canoniſts. Tunſtal was made preſident; and Bilney, Latimer, and one or two more were called upon to anſwer for their conduct. Bilney was conſidered as the hereſiarc; and againſt him chiefly, the rigour of the court was levelled. His examination was accordingly ſevere: every witneſs was heard with ſo much attention, and every depoſition enlarged upon with ſo much bitterneſs, that Tunſtal deſpaired of mixing any temper with the proceedings of his colleagues. The proceſs came to an end, and the criminal, declaring himſelf what they called an obſtinate heretic, was found guilty. Here Tunſtal had an opportunity to ſhew the goodneſs of his heart. He could not interfere in Mr. Bilney's favour in a judicial way; but he laboured to ſave him by all the means in his power. He firſt ſet his friends upon him, to perſuade him to recant; and when that would not do, he joined his intreaties to theirs, had patience with him day after day, and with all the tenderneſs of humanity, begged he would not oblige him, contrary to his inclinations, to treat

treat him with ſeverity. The good biſhop in the end prevailed: Bilney could not withſtand the winning rhetoric of Tunſtal, though he had withſtood all the menaces of the inflamed Warham. He recanted, bore his faggot, and was diſmiſſed.

As for Mr. Latimer and the reſt, they had eaſier terms: Tunſtal omitted no opportunities of ſhewing mercy, and was dextrous in finding them; though it is probable, that among ſo many voices, he would hardly have prevailed, if the cardinal had not countenanced his proceedings.

The heretics, upon their diſmiſſion, returned to Cambridge, where they were received with open arms by their friends. Amidſt this mutual joy, Bilney alone ſeemed unaffected: he ſhunned the ſight of his acquaintance, and received their officious congratulations with confuſion and bluſhes. Reflection had now brought him to himſelf; and remorſe of conſcience had ſeized him for what he had done. Reſtleſs nights, frightful dreams, and other effects of a mind that preys upon itſelf, in a ſhort time diſturbed his reaſon; and it was feared he might have committed ſomething horrid, if thoſe about him had not cloſely attended him. In the agonies of his diſpair, his pathetic and eager accuſations of his friends, of the biſhop of London, and above all, of himſelf, were very affecting. Thus he continued for ſome time one of the moſt ſhocking ſpectacles that human nature can exhibit. His paſſion having had its courſe, at length ſubſided; and by degrees gave place

to a profound melancholy. In this ſtate he continued about three years, reading much, avoiding company, and in all reſpects obſerving the ſeverity of an aſcetic. During this time, and eſpecially towards the latter part of it, he would frequently be throwing out obſcure hints of his meditating ſome extraordinary deſign. He would ſay, that he was now almoſt prepared——that he would ſhortly go up to Jeruſalem—and that God muſt be glorified in him. After keeping his friends awhile in ſuſpenſe by this myſterious language, he told them at laſt, that he was fully determined to expiate his late ſhameful abjuration by his death. What they could oppoſe, had no weight. He had taken his reſolution; and breaking at once from all his attachments in Cambridge, he ſet out for Norfolk, which was the place of his nativity, and which, for that reaſon, he choſe to make the ſcene of his death. When he came there, he went about the country, confeſſing his guilt in abjuring a faith in which he was now determined to die. Popery, he told the people, was a moſt diabolical religion; and exhorted them to beware of idolatry, and to truſt no longer in the cowl of St. Francis, in prayers to ſaints, in pilgrimages, penances, and indulgences; but rather to believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and to lead good lives, which was all that God required of them.

The report of this very extraordinary preacher ſoon reached the ears of the biſhop of Norwich, who watched over thoſe parts with the zeal of an inquiſitor. Mr. Bilney was apprehended, and ſecured in the county-gaol. While he lay there waiting the arrival of the writ for his

his execution, he gave very ſurpriſing inſtances of a firm and collected mind. He began now to recover from that abject ſtate of melancholy, which had for theſe laſt three years oppreſſed him; and, like an honeſt man, who had long lived under a difficult debt, he began to reſume his ſpirits, when he thought himſelf in a ſituation to diſcharge it. Some of his friends found him eating a hearty ſupper the night before his execution, and expreſſing their ſurprize, he told them, he was but doing what they had daily examples of in common life; he was only keeping his cottage in repair, while he continued to inhabit it. The ſame compoſure ran through his whole behaviour; and his converſation was that evening more agreeable than his friends had ever remembered it. He dwelt much upon a paſſage in Iſaiah, which he ſaid gave him great comfort. "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee; thou art mine. When thou walkeſt in the fire, it ſhall not burn thee: I am the Lord thy God." With equal conſtancy he went thro' his laſt trial. His death, which Mr. Fox relates at large, was as noble an inſtance of chriſtian courage, as thoſe times, fruitful of ſuch examples, afforded. The popiſh party would have had it afterwards believed he died in their faith: and great pains were taken by many of them to propagate the ſtory; particularly by Sir Thomas Moore, whoſe opinions in religion were as confined, as his ſentiments on all other ſubjects were enlarged: but Mr. Fox, biſhop Burnet, and others, have ſufficiently refuted the many idle things which were ſaid on that occaſion.

The

The following account of him, Mr. Latimer hath left us in a letter to a friend.

"I have known Bilney, ſays he, a great while; and to tell you what I have always thought of him, I have known few ſo ready to do every man good, after his power; noiſome wittingly to none; and towards his enemy charitable, and reconcileable. To be ſhort, he was a very ſimple, good ſoul, nothing meet for this wretched world; whoſe evil ſtate he would lament and bewail, as much as any man that I ever knew. As for his ſingular learning, as well in the holy ſcriptures, as in other good letters, I will not now ſpeak of it. How he ordered, or miſordered himſelf in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle withal: but I cannot but wonder, if a man living ſo mercifully, ſo charitably, ſo patiently, ſo continently, ſo ſtudiouſly, and ſo virtuouſly, ſhould die an evil death.

SECTION III.

MR. Bilney's ſufferings, inſtead of checking the reformation at Cambridge, inſpired the leaders of it with new courage. Mr. Latimer, in particular, began now to exert himſelf more than he had yet done; and ſucceeded to that credit with his party, which Mr. Bilney had ſo long ſupported. Among other inſtances of his zeal and reſolution in this cauſe, he gave one, which was indeed very remarkable. He had the courage to write to the king againſt a proclamation then juſt publiſhed, forbidding the uſe of the bible in Engliſh, and other books on religious ſubjects. The affair was this.

Ever ſince the reformation had any footing in the kingdom, great care had been taken by the promoters of it to propagate among the people a variety of tracts, ſome on the points then in controverſy, others, and the greater part, on the corruptions of the clergy. Theſe books were printed abroad, and ſent over in great quantities. Among other works of this kind, a tranſlation of the New Teſtament was diſperſed. Great were the clamours of the orthodox againſt theſe malignant and peſtiferous writings, as they were then called. But as the government did not interfere, the biſhops could only uſe the authority of the laws then in force, in guarding againſt theſe invaſions of hereſy. Epiſcopal

copal injunctions were accordingly publiſhed, and all poſſible care was taken. But the laws then in force did not entirely touch the caſe: printing and publiſhing were new affairs; and none of the ſtatutes were particularly pointed againſt heretical books. Something more therefore muſt be obtained from the government.

It happened, that among other tracts then diſperſed, there was one written in a warmer language than ordinary. It was entitled, The Supplication of the Beggars, and contained a very ſevere invective againſt the regular clergy, whoſe exorbitant exactions upon the people were there repreſented as the chief ſource of all the poverty in the nation. This piece rouſed the whole body of the clergy; and the cardinal being at their head, a ſucceſsful application was made to the king, who immediately iſſued a ſevere proclamation againſt heretical books, commanding that all ſuch books ſhould be delivered up within fifteen days; and impowering the biſhops to impriſon at pleaſure all perſons ſuſpected of having them, till the party had purged himſelf, or abjured: it impowered the biſhops likewiſe to ſet an arbitrary fine upon all perſons convicted. It farther forbad all appeals from eccleſiaſtical courts; and obliged all civil officers, on oath, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to extirpate hereſy, and aſſiſt the biſhops; juſtices were to inquire, at their quarterly ſeſſions, into the ſtate of religion in their counties; and ſheriffs were to arreſt all ſuſpected perſons, and deliver them to the biſhops.

The ſword thus put into the hands of the biſhops, was preſently unſheathed. The effects of this proclamation,

mation, and in that reign proclamations had the force of law, were dreadful. It would ſurpriſe the good people of England at this day to hear, that many of their forefathers were then burnt for reading the Bible, and teaching their children the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's prayer in Engliſh. Such things were then called hereſy.

On this occaſion Mr. Latimer took upon him to write to the king. He had preached before Henry once or twice at Windſor, and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner than that monarch uſually indulged towards his ſubjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his ſovereign's favour might have raiſed in him, he choſe to put all to the hazard, rather than to omit what he thought his duty. He was generally conſidered as one of the moſt eminent of thoſe who favoured proteſtantiſm; and therefore thought it became him to be one of the moſt forward in oppoſing popery. His letter is the picture of an honeſt, ſincere heart. It was chiefly intended to point out to the king the bad intention of the biſhops in procuring the proclamation. I ſhall preſent the reader with the ſubſtance of it.

St. Auguſtin, in an epiſtle to Caſulanus, tells us, "That he who through fear, hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of heaven, as a perſon who fears man more than God." And St. Chryſoſtom, to the ſame effect, gives it as his opinion, "That a perſon may betray the truth, as well by concealing it, as diſguiſing it." Theſe ſentences, great king, occurred to me very lately;

lately; and have had ſuch an effect upon me, that I muſt either open my conſcience to your majeſty, or rank myſelf among ſuch perſons as theſe two holy fathers cenſure.—The latter I cannot think of.

But, alas! there are men upon whom ſuch ſevere cenſures have no effect: there are men, who, pretending to be guides and teachers in religion, not only conceal the truth, but prohibit others to ſet it forth: blind guides, who ſhut up the kingdom of heaven from men, and will neither enter in themſelves, neither ſuffer them that would, to enter. And not content with obſtructing the word of God to the utmoſt of their own authority, they have contrived by their ſubtil practices to draw in to their aſſiſtance the civil power in almoſt all the ſtates of chriſtendom. In this nation eſpecially, they have long impoſed upon men by their deluſions, and kept them in awe by their ſpiritual cenſures; and when they ſaw the truth likely to prevail, and gather ſtrength from their oppoſition, they have at length obtained your majeſty's proclamation in their favour, and have got it declared treaſon to read the ſcripture in Engliſh.

Hear me, I beſeech your majeſty, a few words, and let me intreat you to call to mind the example of Chriſt and his apoſtles, their manner of life, their preaching, and whole behaviour: that comparing them with the ſpiritual guides of theſe days, your majeſty may the better judge who are the true followers of Chriſt.

And

And firſt it is evident, that ſimplicity of manners, and hearts ſequeſtered from the world, were the ſtriking characteriſtics of the firſt preachers of the goſpel, and of our bleſſed Lord himſelf. Poverty in ſpirit was then practiſed as well as preached. Alas! it is ſince thoſe days that chriſtian teachers, maſking their worldly hearts under a pretence of voluntary poverty, and an excluſion from carnal things, have wormed themſelves into more than regal wealth; and have wickedly kept what they have craftily obtained, by fomenting foreign or domeſtic ſtrife, in all places, as their purpoſes were beſt ſerved; and by blaſphemouſly dealing out even the puniſhments of heaven againſt all who had reſolution enough to make any ſtand againſt their corruptions. By what arts they have evaded a late act of parliament againſt their encroachments, your majeſty well knows. Think not, gracious ſovereign, that I exceed the bounds of charity in what I ſay: I only offer to your majeſty's conſideration a rule, which was once preſcribed by a greater maſter, "By their fruits you ſhall know them."

Another mark of the true diſciples of Chriſt, is their being at all times expoſed to perſecution. It would be endleſs to quote all the paſſages of ſcripture, in which this burden is univerſally laid upon good chriſtians. Contempt and reproach is their common lot, and often the moſt violent perſecutions, even to death itſelf. Where-ever, therefore, the word of God is truly preached, you muſt expect to ſee perſecution in one ſhape or other. On the contrary, where-ever you ſee

eaſe

eaſe and luxury, and a quiet poſſeſſion of worldly pleaſures, there the truth cannot poſſibly be. For the world loveth only ſuch as are worldly; and the favourers of the goſpel can expect nothing in it from reaſon, and are promiſed nothing in it by ſcripture, but vexation and trouble.—From this diſtinction again, your majeſty, by the aſſiſtance of the above-mentioned rule, "By their fruits you ſhall know them," will be able to judge, who are the true followers of Chriſt: where-ever you obſerve perſecution, there is more than a probability that the truth lies on the perſecuted ſide.

As for a notion, which has been infuſed into your majeſty, that the ſcriptures in the hands of the people might move them to rebellion, your majeſty may judge of the falſehood of this likewiſe by the ſame rule: "By their fruit you ſhall know them." How is it poſſible, that a book, which inculcates obedience to magiſtrates with the greateſt earneſtneſs, can be the cauſe of ſedition? The thing ſpeaks itſelf, and diſcovers only how much their malice is at a loſs for topics of invective.

When king David ſent ambaſſadors to the young king of the Ammonites to condole with him upon the death of his father, your majeſty may remember what unadviſed counſel was given to that raſh prince. His counſellors put it into his head, contrary to all reaſon, that David's meſſengers came only as ſpies, and that David certainly meant an invaſion. The young king, upon this, without farther ceremony, wantonly ſhaved the heads of the ambaſſadors, and treated them with other

marks

marks of contempt. But the following verſes inform us, how the affair ended. The deſtruction of the whole land, we read, was the conſequence of the king's liſtening to imprudent counſel.

Let not, great king, this fact find its parallel in Engliſh ſtory. The ambaſſadors of a great prince are now making ſuit to you; the holy evangeliſts, and apoſtles of Chriſt. Be upon your guard; and believe not the idle tales of thoſe who would perſuade you, that theſe meſſengers of peace are coming to foment ſedition in your land. Would your majeſty know the true cauſe of this confederacy, as I may well call it, againſt the word of God; examine the lives of thoſe who are the leaders of it, and conſider whether there may not be ſome private reaſons inducing ſuch perſons to keep a book in concealment, which cries out loudly againſt all kinds of vice. And if your majeſty wants to know the ſource of rebellions, I think a much fairer one may be conjectured at, than the uſe of an Engliſh Bible. For my own part, I have long been of opinion, that a greater encouragement of all kinds of civil diſorder could hardly have been invented, than the church-trade of pardons and indulgences: to which may be added the bad examples of the clergy, and the little care they are generally thought to take in the diſcharge of their duty.

As for thoſe who are now in queſtion on the account of your majeſty's late proclamation, I am credibly informed, there is not one among them, who hath not demeaned himſelf as a peaceable and good ſubject in every

every inſtance; excepting only this one caſe, in which they thought their religion and conſciences concerned. In this particular, however, I excuſe them not: nor will I take upon me intirely to defend the books for which they ſuffer; for indeed, many of them I have never read: only this your majeſty muſt give me leave to ſay, that it is impoſſible the many inconveniences can follow from theſe books, and eſpecially from the ſcripture, which they would perſuade mankind, will follow.

Accept, gracious ſovereign, without diſpleaſure, what I have written. I thought it my duty to mention theſe things to your majeſty. No perſonal quarrel, as God ſhall judge me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your majeſty to conſider well what kind of perſons you have about you, and the ends for which they counſel: indeed, great prince, many of them have very private ends, or they are much ſlandered. God grant your majeſty may ſee through all the deſigns of evil men: and be in all things equal to the high office with which you are entruſted!

He concludes his letter with theſe very emphatical words.

"Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourſelf: have pity upon your own ſoul; and think that the day is at hand, when you ſhall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been ſhed by your ſword. In the which day, that your grace may ſtand ſtedfaſtly, and not be aſhamed; but be clear and ready in your reckoning,

reckoning, and have your pardon ſealed with the blood of our Saviour Chriſt, which only ſerveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him who ſuffered death for our ſins. The Spirit of God preſerve you!"

With ſuch freedom did this true miniſter of the goſpel addreſs his ſovereign. But the influence of the popiſh party had more effect than his letter. The king, however, no way diſpleaſed, received it not only with temper, but with great condeſcenſion; and graciouſly thanked him for his well-intended advice.

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SECTION IV.

THE king's divorce was not yet brought to an iſſue. The pope, terrified by an imperial army hovering over him, and yet afraid of the defection of England, was ſtill endeavouring to hold the balance even between Charles V. and Henry. The legantine court therefore, under the influence of Rome, became of courſe very deliberate in its determinations. The tedioufneſs of the ſuit at length got the better of the king of England's patience. His incontroulable ſpirit broke out; and finding himſelf duped by the pope, he diſclaimed his authority in the affair, took it into his own hands, and had it determined within his own realm. Having gone thus far in defiance of the ſee of Rome, and finding his throne yet unſhaken, he was proceeding farther. But the pope beginning to temporize, a reconciliation was thought at hand. The imperial faction, however, once again prevailed. Henry's meaſures were traverſed; and himſelf, in the perſon of his ambaſſador, treated with indignity.

Hitherto Henry was ſecretly inclined to a reconciliation with Rome; but his reſentment of this uſage took ſuch intire poſſeſſion of him, that from this time he determined abſolutely to throw off the papal yoke. Upon ſuch ſlender pivots, as even the paſſions of men, do the grand ſchemes of providence often turn!

Soon

Soon after Henry had taken this reſolution, the affair was brought into parliament; and the king's ſupremacy was every where the popular topic.

The uſurpations of the pope had, before this time, been the ſubject of a parliamentary inquiry. Through many preceding reigns, the exactions of the holy ſee had been ſo oppreſſive, that the legiſlature was often applied to for redreſs; and many laws, breathing a noble ſpirit of freedom, had been enacted, by which the Roman power was much abridged. Of theſe the moſt famous were the ſtatute againſt the pope's tax-gatherers, commonly called the ſtatute againſt proviſors; and the ſtatute of præmunire, prohibiting bulls and other inſtruments from Rome.

But notwithſtanding theſe, and many other bold laws were enacted, no effect was produced. They were promulged, and laid aſide. The influence of the vatican was yet too conſiderable to ſuffer any very ſpirited attacks upon its power.

Neglected however as theſe ſtatutes were, they ſerved as precedents for Henry's parliament; which concurred intirely with the king's inclinations. Luther's exceptions were now growing popular: every year brought ſomething to light, which prejudiced men more againſt the doctrine, or the diſcipline, or the prieſthood of the church of Rome. The parliament therefore wanted little inducement to turn their councils upon any thing which tended to reformation. Thus the king,

king, with leſs difficulty than commonly attends ſuch important revolutions, got the pope's power abrogated in England, and his own ſupremacy eſtabliſhed in its ſtead.

The part which Mr. Latimer acted in this affair, was one of the firſt things which brought him forward in life.

Whatever motives in earneſt influenced king Henry, he had always policy enough to pay an outward regard at leaſt to thoſe of conſcience. He took care therefore to reſolve his ſcruples, before he gratified his paſſions. Thus he had the opinion of all the divines in Europe, before he ventured upon his divorce. And thus, in the preſent caſe, he durſt not aſſert his ſupremacy, till he had conſulted with the ableſt canoniſts of his realm, and fully ſatisfied himſelf, that what he did, was agreeable to the Old and New Teſtament.

Among thoſe who ſerved him in this buſineſs, was Dr. Butts, his phyſician; who, from the ſlender accounts preſerved of him in hiſtory, appears to have been a perſon of great honeſty, learning, and humanity. Mr. Fox calls him "a ſingular good man, and a ſpecial favourer of good proceedings."

This gentleman being ſent to Cambridge upon the occaſion mentioned, began immediately to pay his court to the proteſtant party, from whom the king expected moſt unanimity in his favour. Among the firſt, he made his application to Mr. Latimer, as a perſon moſt likely

likely to ſerve him; begging that he would collect the opinions of his friends in the caſe, and do his utmoſt to bring over thoſe of moſt eminence, who were ſtill inclined to the papacy. Mr. Latimer, who was a thorough friend to the cauſe he was to ſolicit, undertook it with his uſual zeal; and diſcharged himſelf ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the doctor, that when that gentleman returned to court, he took Mr. Latimer along with him; with a view, no doubt, to procure him ſomething anſwerable to his merit.

About this time a perſon was riſing into power, who became afterwards Mr. Latimer's chief friend and patron; the great lord Cromwell: a perſon in all reſpects ſo formed for command, that we admire him, through hiſtory, as one of thoſe great inſtruments, which providence often raiſes up, and ſeems to inſpire, for ſome grand purpoſe. His deſcent was mean, but his enterpriſing genius ſoon raiſed him above the obſcurity of his birth. We find him firſt abroad, leading a wild romantic life in various capacities. In Holland he was a hackney writer; in Italy a foot ſoldier. After ſpending a very diſſipated youth in this vague way, he returned home, and was taken into the ſervice of cardinal Woolſey, who in a ſhort time made him his ſecretary. Under this ſagacious miniſter he began to methodize the large fund of knowledge he had been treaſuring up; and was ſoon valued by the cardinal, who was never ill-ſerved, as one of the ableſt of his ſervants. The cardinal's fall was his riſe but, he roſe not, like moſt favourites, by betraying, but by defending his maſter. Woolſey had ar-

rived at the full meridian of his glory; that critical point, at which human grandeur begins to decline. The diſtreſſed miniſter was now at bay, preſſed hard by a parliamentary inquiry. The king had withdrawn his favour from him, and all his dependents (thoſe ſummer-flies of a great man's ſunſhine) began to ſhrink and die away. Cromwell alone, with a generoſity almoſt unparalleled in hiſtory, boldly maintained his cauſe; and pleaded for him ſo forcibly before the commons, that if his ruin had not been a thing reſolved on, he bid fair to avert it. Woolſey fell; but Cromwell's generoſity was rewarded. The king was pleaſed with his behaviour, marked his abilities, from that time favoured, and ſoon employed him. His great talents quickly recommended him to the higheſt truſts; and his ſovereign uſed his ſervices almoſt implicitly.

As this eminent perſon was a friend to the reformation, he encouraged of courſe ſuch churchmen, as were inclined towards it. Among others, Mr. Latimer was one of his favourites; to whom he took all opportunities of ſhewing his regard: and as Mr. Latimer had at this time no employment in London, his patron very ſoon obtained a benefice for him.

This benefice was in Wiltſhire, whither Mr. Latimer reſolved, as ſoon as poſſible, to repair, and keep a conſtant reſidence. His friend Dr. Butts, ſurpriſed at his reſolution, did what he could to perſuade him from it. "He was deſerting, he told him, the faireſt appearances of making his fortune. The prime miniſter, ſays he, intends

intends this only as an earneſt of his future favours; and will certainly in time, do great things for you. But it is the manner of courts to conſider thoſe as provided for, who ſeem to be ſatisfied: and take my word for it, an abſent claimant ſtands but a poor chance among rivals, who are on the ſpot." Thus the old courtier adviſed. But Mr. Latimer was not a man on whom ſuch arguments had any weight. He had no other notion of making his fortune, than that of putting himſelf in a way of being uſeful. Great and good, were with him words of the ſame meaning. And though he knew his friend's advice was well meant, yet he knew at the ſame time, that a man may as eaſily be deceived by the kindneſs of his friend, as by the guile of his enemy. Beſides, he was heartily tired of a court. He had yet ſeen little of the world; and was ſhocked to be introduced at once to a place, where he ſaw vice in every ſhape triumphant: where factions raged: where all the arts of malice were practiſed; where vanity and folly prevailed, debauchery of manners, diſſimulation, and irreligion: where he not only ſaw theſe things, but what moſt grieved him, where he found himſelf utterly unable to oppoſe them: for he had neither authority, nor, as he thought, talents, to reclaim the great. He left the court therefore, and entered immediately upon the duties of his pariſh; hoping to be of ſome uſe in the world, by faithfully exerting, in a private ſtation, ſuch abilities as God had given him.

His behavour was ſuitable to his reſolutions. He thoroughly conſidered the office of a clergyman; and diſcharged it in the moſt conſcientious manner. Nor was

he ſatisfied with diſcharging it in his own pariſh, but extended his labours throughout the country, where he obſerved the paſtoral care moſt neglected; having for this purpoſe obtained a general licence from the univerſity of Cambridge.

His preaching, which was in a ſtrain wholly different from the preaching of the times, ſoon made him acceptable to the people; among whom, in a little time, he eſtabliſhed himſelf in great credit. He was treated likewiſe very civilly by the neighbouring gentry; and at Briſtol, where he often preached, he was countenanced by the magiſtrates.

The reputation he was thus daily gaining, preſently alarmed the orthodox clergy in thoſe parts. Their oppoſition to him appeared firſt on this occaſion. The mayor of Briſtol had appointed him to preach on Eaſter-ſunday. Public notice had been given, and all people were pleaſed: when ſuddenly, there came out an order from the biſhop of Briſtol, prohibiting any one to preach there without his licence. The clergy of the place waited upon Mr. Latimer, informed him of the biſhop's order, and, knowing that he had no ſuch licence, "were extremely ſorry that they were by that means deprived of the pleaſure of hearing an excellent diſcourſe from him." Mr. Latimer received their civility with a ſmile; for he had been apprized of the affair, and well knew, that theſe were the very perſons who had written to the biſhop againſt him.

Their

Their oppoſition to him became afterwards more public. Some of them aſcended the pulpit, and inveighed againſt him with great indecency of language. Of theſe the moſt forward was one Hubberdin, an empty, impudent fellow, who could ſay nothing of his own, but any thing that was put into his mouth. Through this inſtrument, and others of the ſame kind, ſuch liberties were taken with Mr. Latimer's character, that he thought it proper at length to juſtify himſelf; and accordingly called upon his maligners to accuſe him publicly before the mayor of Briſtol. But when that magiſtrate convened both parties; and put the accuſers upon producing legal proof of what they had ſaid, nothing appeared; but the whole accuſation was left to reſt upon the uncertain evidence of ſome hear-ſay information.

His enemies, however, were not thus ſilenced. The party againſt him became daily ſtronger and more inflamed. It conſiſted chiefly of the country prieſts of thoſe parts; headed by ſome divines of more eminence.

Theſe perſons, after mature deliberation, drew up articles againſt him, extracted chiefly from his ſermons; in which he was charged with ſpeaking lightly of the worſhip of ſaints; with ſaying, that there was no material fire in hell; and that he would rather be in purgatory, than in Lollard's tower. Theſe articles, in the form of an accuſation, were laid before Stokeſly biſhop of London; who cited Mr. Latimer to appear before him. But Mr. Latimer, inſtead of obeying the citation,

citation, appealed to his own ordinary; thinking himſelf wholly exempt from the juriſdiction of any other biſhop. Stokeſly, upon this, making a private cauſe of it, was determined at any rate to get him in his power. He applied therefore to archbiſhop Warham, whoſe zeal was nearly of a temper with his own. The archbiſhop, being eaſily perſuaded, cited Mr. Latimer to appear in the conſiſtorial court of the province; where the biſhop of London, and ſome other biſhops were commiſſioned to examine him. An archiepiſcopal citation brought Mr. Latimer at once to a compliance. His friends would have had him leave the country; but their perſuaſions were in vain. Before he ſet out for London, he wrote the following letter to a friend.

"I marvel not a little, that my lord of London, having ſo large a dioceſe committed to his care, and ſo peopled as it is, can have leiſure either to trouble me, or to trouble himſelf with me, ſo poor a wretch, a ſtranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure. Methinks it were more comely for my lord, if it were comely for me to ſay ſo, to be a preacher himſelf, than to be a diſquieter of preachers. If it would pleaſe his lordſhip to take ſo great labour and pain, as to come and preach in my little biſhoprick at Weſtkington, whether I were preſent or abſent, I would thank his lordſhip heartily for helping to diſcharge me in my cure, as long as his predication was fruitful, and to the edification of my pariſhioners. But he may do as he pleaſeth: I pray God he may do as well as I would wiſh him to do; and as to my preaching, I truſt in God, my lord of London cannot

cannot juſtly reprove it, if it be taken as I ſpake it; elſe it is not my preaching.

Quem recitas meus eſt, ô Fidentine, libellus;
Sed male cum recitas, incipit eſſe tuus.

Either my lord of London will judge mine outward man, or mine inward man. If he will have to do only with mine outward man, how I have ordered my life, I truſt I ſhall pleaſe both my Lord God, and alſo my lord of London; for I have taught but according to the ſcriptures, and the antient interpreters of ſcriptures; and with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity; and as for voluntary things, I reproved the abuſe, without condemning the things themſelves. But if my lord will needs invade my inward man, and break violently into my heart, I fear then, indeed, I may diſpleaſe my lord of London. Finally, as you ſay, the matter is weighty, even as weighty as my life is worth, and ought to be well looked to; how to look well to it I know not, otherwiſe than to pray to my Lord God night and day, that as he hath boldened me to preach his truth, ſo he will ſtrengthen me to ſuffer for it. And I truſt that God will help me; which truſt, if I had not, the ocean ſea ſhould have divided my lord of London and me by this time."

In this chriſtian temper Mr. Latimer ſet out for London. It was in the depth of winter, and he was at this time labouring under a ſevere fit, both of the ſtone and cholic. Theſe things were hard upon him; but what moſt diſtreſſed him was, the thought of leaving his

his pariſh ſo expoſed, where the popiſh clergy would not fail to undo, in his abſence, what he had hitherto done.

When he arrived in London, he found a court of biſhops and canoniſts aſſembled to receive him; where inſtead of being examined, as he expected, about his ſermons, the following paper was offered to him, which he was ordered to ſubſcribe.

"*I believe*, that there is a purgatory to purge the ſouls of the dead after this life—that the ſouls in purgatory are holpen with the maſſes, prayers, and alms of the living—that the ſaints do pray as mediators for us in heaven—that it is profitable for chriſtains to call upon the ſaints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God—that pilgrimages and oblations done to the ſepulchres and reliques of ſaints, are meritorious—that they which have vowed perpetual chaſtity, may not break their vow, without the diſpenſation of the pope—that the keys of binding and looſing delivered to Peter, do ſtill remain with the biſhops of Rome his ſucceſſors, although they live wickedly; and are by no means, nor at any time committed to laymen—that men may merit at God's hand by faſting, prayer, and other works of piety—that they which are forbidden of the biſhop to preach, as ſuſpected perſons, ought to ceaſe until they have purged themſelves before the ſaid biſhop—that the faſt which is uſed in Lent, and other faſts preſcribed by the canons are to be obſerved—that God, in every one of the ſeven ſacraments, giveth grace to a man rightly

rightly receiving the ſame—that conſecrations, ſanctifyings, and bleſſings, by cuſtom received into the church, are profitable—that it is laudable and profitable that the venerable images of the crucifix, and other ſaints, ſhould be had in the church as a remembrance, and to the honour and worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt, and his ſaints—that it is laudable and profitable to deck and clothe thoſe images, and to ſet up burning lights before them, to the honour of the ſaid ſaints."

This paper being offered to Mr. Latimer, he read it over, and returned it again, refuſing to ſign it. The archbiſhop, with a frown, begged he would conſider what he did. "We intend not, ſays he, Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you: we diſmiſs you for the preſent: take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully; and God grant, that at our next meeting, we may find each other in better temper."

At the next meeting, and at ſeveral others, the ſame ſcene was acted over again: both ſides continued inflexible.

The biſhops, however, being determined, if poſſible, to make him comply, began to treat him with more ſeverity. Of one of theſe examinations he gives us the following account.

"I was brought out, ſays he, to be examined in a chamber, where I was wont to be examined; but at this time it was ſomewhat altered. For whereas before there

there was a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney; and the table ſtood near the chimney's end. There was among theſe biſhops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I took for my great friend, an aged man, and he ſat next the table-end. Then among other queſtions he put forth one, a very ſubtil and crafty one; and when I ſhould make anſwer," "I pray you, Mr. Latimer, ſaid he, ſpeak out, I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that ſit far off." "I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to ſpeak out, and began to miſdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen plainly ſcratching behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all my anſwers, that I ſhould not ſtart from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me anſwers, I could never elſe have eſcaped them."

Thus the biſhops continued to diſtreſs Mr. Latimer; three times every week they regularly ſent for him, with a view either to elicit ſomething from him by captious queſtions; or to teaze him at length into a compliance.

And indeed, at length, he was tired out. His ſpirit could no longer bear the uſage he met with. Accordingly, when he was next ſummoned, inſtead of going himſelf, he ſent a letter to the archbiſhop, in which, with great freedom, he tells him, "That the treatment he had of late met with, had fretted him into ſuch a diſorder, as rendered him unfit to attend them that day—that in

in the mean time, he could not help taking this opportunity to expoſtulate with his grace, for detaining him ſo long from the diſcharge of his duty—that it ſeemed to him moſt unaccountable, that they, who never preached themſelves, ſhould hinder others—that as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progreſs—that if his ſermons were what gave offence, which he perſuaded himſelf were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to anſwer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them—that he wiſhed a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people; and that a diſtinction might be made between the ordinances of God, and the ordinances of man—that if ſome abuſes in religion did prevail (as was then commonly ſuppoſed) he thought preaching was the beſt mean to diſcountenance them—that he wiſhed all paſtors might be obliged to perform their duty; but that, however, liberty might be given to thoſe who were willing—that as for the articles propoſed to him, he begged to be excuſed from ſubſcribing them; while he lived he never would abet ſuperſtition—and that, laſtly, he hoped the archbiſhop would excuſe what he had written—he knew his duty to his ſuperiors, and would practiſe it; but in that caſe, he thought a ſtronger obligation lay upon him."

What particular effect this letter produced, we are not informed; the biſhops however ſtill continued their perſecution. But by an unexpected accident their ſchemes were

were ſuddenly fruſtrated. The king being informed of the ill uſage Mr. Latimer met with, moſt probably by the lord Cromwell's means, interpoſed in his behalf, and reſcued him out of the hands of his enemies. Mr. Fox leaves it in doubt, whether he was not at length prevailed on to ſubſcribe the biſhops articles: but I think it paſt diſpute that he did not: for if he had, what occaſion had the king to interpoſe?

The unfortunate Ann Boleyn was at that time the favourite wife of Henry. She had imbibed from her youth the principles of the reformation, and continued ſtill inclined to it. Whether ſhe had been acquainted with Mr. Latimer before ſhe met with him now at court, does not appear: ſhe was extremely taken however with his ſimplicity, and apoſtolic appearance; and mentioned him to her friends as a perſon, in her opinion, as well qualified as any ſhe had ſeen to forward the reformation. One of her friends, and as much her favourite as any, was the lord Cromwell, who failed not, with his uſual addreſs, to raiſe Mr. Latimer ſtill higher in her eſteem. In ſhort, the queen and the miniſter agreed in thinking, that he was a man endowed with too many public virtues to be ſuffered to live obſcure in a private ſtation; and joined in an earneſt recommendation of him to the king for a biſhopric. Such ſuiters would have carried an harder point: nor indeed did the king want much ſolicitation in his favour.

It happened that the ſees of Worceſter and Saliſbury were at that time vacant by the deprivation of Ghinuccii, and

and Campegio, two Italian biſhops, who fell under the king's diſpleaſure upon his rupture with Rome. The former of theſe was offered to Mr. Latimer. As he had been at no pains to procure this promotion, he looked upon it as the work of providence, and accepted it without much perſuaſion. Indeed he had met with ſo very rough a check already as a private clergyman, and ſaw before him ſo hazardous a proſpect in his old ſtation, that he thought it neceſſary both for his own ſafety, and for the ſake of being of more ſervice in the world, to ſhroud himſelf under a little temporal power.

How he diſcharged his new office may eaſily be imagined. An honeſt conſcience, which was his rule of conduct in one ſtation, might be ſuppoſed ſuch in another. But we are not left to conjecture. All the hiſtorians of theſe times, mention him as a perſon remarkably zealous in the diſcharge of his duty. In overlooking the clergy of his dioceſe, which he thought the chief branch of the epiſcopal office, exciting in them a zeal for religion, and obliging them at leaſt to a legal performance of their duty, he was uncommonly active, warm, and reſolute. With the ſame ſpirit he preſided over his eccleſiaſtical court; and either rooted out ſuch crimes as were there cognizable, or prevented their becoming exemplary, by forcing them into corners. In viſiting he was frequent and obſervant; in ordaining ſtrict and wary; in preaching indefatigable; in reproving and exhorting ſevere and perſuaſive.

Thus

Thus far he could act with authority: but in other things he found himſelf under difficulties. The ceremonies of the popiſh worſhip gave him great offence; and he neither durſt, in times ſo dangerous and unſettled, lay them entirely aſide; nor, on the other hand, was he willing entirely to retain them. In this dilemma his addreſs was admirable. He inquired into their origin; and when he found any of them, as ſome of them were, derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate the original meaning, though itſelf a corruption, in the room of a more corrupt practice. Thus he put the people in mind, when holy bread and water were diſtributed, that theſe elements which had long been thought endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two ſacraments of the Lord's ſupper, and baptiſm: the former, he ſaid, reminded us of Chriſt's death, and the latter was only a ſimple repreſentation of our being purified from ſin. By thus reducing popery to its original principles, he at leaſt lopped off a few of its moſt offenſive corruptions.

SEC.

SECTION V.

WHILE his endeavours were thus confined within his own dioceſe, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner; having received a ſummons to attend the parliament and convocation.

This ſeſſion, which was in the year 1536, was thought a criſis by the proteſtant party. The renunciation of the pope's authority was a great ſtep: a free inquiry into principles and practices, it was hoped, would follow; and a thorough reformation could not then, it was thought, be at a great diſtance.

On the other hand, the papiſts well knew the king's attachment to popery: and though they never imagined they ſhould be able to cloſe the breach, they were ſanguine enough to believe they could prevent its widening farther.

Theſe oppoſite hopes animated two powerful parties: and indeed it is hard to ſay, whether the papiſts or the proteſtants, during this reign, had the greater influence. Henry was governed intirely by his paſſions; and to theſe ſometimes one miniſter, and ſometimes another, made the moſt dextrous addreſs.

At

At the head of the proteſtant party, was the lord Cromwell, whoſe favour with the king was now in its meridian; and who was the ſoul of every thing that was done.

Next to him in power, was Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury; to which dignity he had been raiſed on the death of Warham, for his ſervices in the matter of the divorce. He was a ſincere promoter of reformation, and had abilities admirably adapted to ſuch a work. He was a calm, diſpaſſionate man; had a ſound judgment, and a very extenſive knowledge: but he had converſed little in the world; was very open to the attacks of malice and knavery, and was unacquainted with any methods but thoſe of gentleneſs and perſuaſion, which indeed went a conſiderable way, to promote his ends.

After him the biſhop of Worceſter was the moſt conſiderable man of the party; to whom were added the biſhops of Ely, Rocheſter, Hereford, Sailſbury, and St. David's.

On the other hand, the popiſh party was headed by Lee, archbiſhop of York, Gardiner, Stokeſly, and Tunſtal, biſhops of Wincheſter, London, and Durham.

Lee was conſiderable chiefly on account of the eminency of his ſtation: Gardiner had the acuteſt parts, Stokeſly the moſt zeal, and Tunſtal the beſt heart. But they were all a kind of court-barometers, and diſcerning

ing men could judge of the temper of the times by their elevations and depreſſions: yet Gardiner was a dextrous whiſperer, when he could get privately to his ſovereign's ear; to which he had but too frequent acceſs: though his abilities had not yet that ſcope, which ſucceeding times allowed them.

Theſe perſons, thus diſpoſed, now met together in convocation. Their meeting was opened, in the uſual form, by a ſermon, or rather an oration, ſpoken by the biſhop of Worceſter, whoſe eloquence was at this time every where famous. This taſk was aſſigned him by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; who knew no man ſo well qualified to lay before the clergy the corruptions of their order; and to rouze them, if poſſible, into a ſenſe of their duty. What he ſaid, was to this effect.

"We are met together, it ſeems, here, brethren, to conſult the ſettlement of religion. A very important truſt is committed to us; and I hope each of us hath brought with him a reſolution to diſcharge it properly. And, indeed, great need is there that ſomething ſhould be done. Superſtition hath had a long reign amongſt us; nor can I yet believe its tyranny at an end, while I ſee our clergy ſtill immerſed in the corruptions of their fore-fathers; while I ſee even mitred advocates, it becomes me to ſpeak plainly, ſtill eſpouſing this cauſe. What an inundation of folly, to give it the lighteſt appellation, is daily flowing from our pulpits? Is there an abſurdity in the whole popiſh creed, is there a cor-

ruption in their whole ritual, which is not countenanced, even at this very day amongſt us? Purgatory is ſtill believed; images are ſtill worſhiped. And what is moſt grievous, when external obſervances abound, men begin to lay a ſtreſs upon them; and of courſe the neceſſity of a good life is ſuperceded.—Rouze yourſelves, my brethren, rouze yourſelves at theſe things. Conſider that an amendment of all theſe evils is looked for at our hands. If the prieſt is remiſs, what can be expected from the people? Imagine you hear, at the laſt day, the almighty Judge thus rebuking us. "A cry againſt you cometh up into my ears; a cry againſt your avarice, your exactions, your tyranny. I commanded you with induſtry and pains-taking to feed my ſheep: inſtead of which you do nothing but gluttonize from day to day, wallowing in indolence and pleaſure. I commanded you to preach my commandments, and ſeek my glory: inſtead of which, you preach your own phantaſies, and ſeek your own profit. I commanded that all people ſhould diligently ſearch my word: inſtead of which, it is your care to ſhut up the books of knowledge—Too much reaſon have you to fear, that reading the people may underſtand, and underſtanding they may learn to rebuke your ſlothfulneſs.

Since then, my brethren, the corruptions of the clergy are ſo manifeſt: and ſince ſo ſtrict an account will be demanded of our conduct, let us at this time do ſomething to ſhew that we have the intereſt of religion at heart. Let us do ſomething to wipe off prejudices, which I know have been conceived againſt ſome of us without-

without-doors. And as our ſtations in life add a dignity to our characters, ſo let them inſpire us with holineſs, and a zeal for the ſalvation of ſouls, in which alone conſiſts the real dignity of a chriſtian biſhop All men know that we are here aſſembled; and with ardent looks expect the fruit of our conſultation: Oh! my brethren, let us not diſappoint their hopes.

Lift up your heads therefore, my lords, look round, and examine what things want reformation in the church of England. Is it ſo hard a matter to find out corruption and abuſes among us? What is done in the arches? Is there nothing there, that wants amendment? Is buſineſs ſpeedily diſpatched? Or are ſuiters intangled in forms, diſappointed, vexed, and rifled? Or if all things be well there, what think you of the biſhops conſiſtories? Is vice ſought out and corrected? Or is it made a ſhameful handle for bribery and extortion?

What think you, my brethren, of the ceremonies of the church? Are they ſimple and ſignificant? Or are they rather calculated to offend weak conſciences, and to encourage ſuperſtition among the vulgar?

Do you ſee nothing amiſs in that multiplicity of holidays, with which our calendar abounds? Is true religion, think you, more promoted by them; or idleneſs and debauchery?

What thinik you of images and relics, to which ſo many painful pilgrimages are made from every corner

of the kingdom? Do you obſerve no prieſt-craft in theſe things, no gainful frauds, no profitable impoſitions?

What think you of our liturgy? Is it unexceptionable in all its parts? or, if it was, is it defenſible by ſcripture that the offices of the church ſhould be performed in an unknown tongue?

Laſtly, my brethren, what think you of maſſes, and of that beneficial commerce in this commodity, which has been carried on for ſo many years?

Conſider theſe things, I beg of you, my lords, and if there be nothing to be corrected abroad, let each of us make one better. If there be nothing either abroad or at home that wants amendment, be chearful, my lords, and merry; and as we have nothing elſe to do, let us at leaſt reaſon the matter how we may grow richer: let us fall to ſome pleaſant converſation, and then go home with a full reſolution to live merrily here, for we have nothing to expect hereafter. Let us not ſay with St. Peter, "Our end approacheth:" this is a melancholy note. But let us ſay with the evil ſervant, "My Lord delayeth his coming; and let us begin to beat our fellows, and eat and drink with the drunken." And what can be interpreted beating our fellows, if not allowing their corruptions? What can be interpreted eating and drinking with the drunken, if not ſpending our lives in indolence and pleaſure? But God will come on a day, when we look not for him; and in an hour, when we are not aware. He will call us to a

ſevere

ſevere account, and all our wordly policy will end in deſpair.

Let us then, my brethren, in time be wiſe: let us be wiſe, if not for others, at leaſt for ourſelves. Let us wean our hearts from worldly things. Let us diveſt ourſelves of each ſelf-intereſted thought; and let every man in this aſſembly reſolve to aim at nothing in his counſels, but the glory of God, and the happineſs of man."

With ſuch language did the good biſhop endeavour to work upon the aſſembly. But he harangued in vain. His ſpeech only ſhewed the goodneſs of his own heart. Eloquence may have influence in queſtions of ſudden determination: but it is not a weapon to oppoſe rooted prejudices.

The forms of the convocation were ſcarce ſettled, when the two parties began to attack each other with great bitterneſs. The papiſt was the aggreſſor. In the lower houſe a bill was drawn up, the reſult of much ſecret caballing, which contained a catalogue of ſixty-ſeven heretical opinions. Many of theſe were the tenets of Wicliffe: the reſt of modern reformers. This bill was ſent to the upper houſe, where it met with many zealous advocates. Here it was agitated with animoſity on both ſides; each party reſolving in the firſt conteſt, to make the other acquainted with its full ſtrength.

In

In the midſt of the debate, which had now laſted many days, each day growing warmer than the laſt, the lord Cromwell entered the houſe, and addreſſing himſelf to the popiſh biſhops, required them in the king's name, to put an end to their oppoſition. This meſſage inſtantly quenched the flame, and gave the reformers the firſt intimation of the king's good intentions towards them.

Among other foreign proteſtants who were at this time entertained by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, there was a very ingenious Scotſman, whoſe name was Aleſſe; a perſon, who had made himſelf very acceptable to the archbiſhop by his learning, and ſolid judgment; and who was at all times, without any reſerve, conſulted by the heads of the proteſtant party.

This learned man was brought by Cromwell to the convocation-houſe, where he ſpoke largely againſt the ſacraments of the Roman church; and proved that two only were of goſpel inſtitution. His ſpeech produced a warm debate, and of long continuance. It was managed by the biſhops of York and London, on the part of the papiſts; and of Canterbury and Hereford on that of the proteſtants; the latter retorting many things with great freedom againſt tradition and monkery, and the ignorance of the popiſh clergy.

The reſult was a kind of compromiſe. Four ſacraments, out of the ſeven, were excluded.

But

But as the biſhop of Worceſter did not diſtinguiſh himſelf in the debates of this convocation, for debating was not his talent, it is beſide my purpoſe to enter into a detail of the ſeveral tranſactions of it. I ſhall only add, that an animated attempt was at this time made to get him and Cranmer ſtigmatized by ſome public cenſure: but through their own and Cromwell's intereſt, they were too well eſtabliſhed to fear any open attack from their enemies.

For the reſt of what was now done, let it ſuffice to ſay, that no very haſty ſteps were taken in favour of reformation: the cool heads, which managed that revolution, thought it ſufficient at this time to accuſtom the people to ſee religious matters brought into queſtion; and judged it more prudent, to looſen prejudices by degrees, than to attempt, in a violent manner, to root them up.

When it was imagined, that theſe alterations were tolerably digeſted, others, and theſe ſtill more ſubverſive of popery, were, the ſame year, publiſhed in the king's name; the firſt act of pure ſupremacy, which this prince attempted. The articles, which contained theſe alterations, were drawn up, as is generally ſuppoſed, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and if ſo, it is more than probable, that biſhop Latimer had a hand in them. They were levelled chiefly againſt relics, images, pilgrimages, and ſuperfluous holy-days.

In

In a few months after this, a ſtill more conſiderable advance was made. The Bible was tranſlated into Engliſh, and recommended to a general peruſal: the people were ordered to be inſtructed in the principles of religion in their mother-tongue; and the invocation of ſaints was left as a thing indifferent.

Thus reformation was daily gaining ground. The more glaring parts of the Romiſh ſuperſtition were now aboliſhed: a way was opened for free inquiry; men ventured to harbour doubts and ſuſpicions; and it was thought rational to bring the doctrines of the church to the teſt of reaſon.

As for the papiſts, they gave up every thing for loſt. They had made their laſt effort by exciting the people to rebellion: exclaiming loudly againſt the diſſolution of monaſteries; which was indeed the moſt unpopular act of thoſe times. But the flames which they had blown up, were now every where dying away; the country enriched with the ſpoils of the prieſts, grew plentiful and ſatisfied; and men began to view the venerable ruins of an abbey, only as they contributed to enliven a landſcape.

In the mean while the biſhop of Worceſter, highly ſatisfied with the proſpect of the times, repaired to his dioceſe; having made no longer ſtay in London than was abſolutely neceſſary. He had no talents, and he knew that he had none, for ſtate-affairs; and therefore he meddled not with them. The ſettlement of religion

religion could not, he aſſured himſelf, be in abler hands, than in thoſe of the lord Cromwell, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and while it was ſo, he wiſely judged it would be thought preſumption in him, who could not be ſuppoſed to know what men and times would bear, to concern himſelf with it. His talents were thoſe of a private ſtation; and within that he was determined to confine them. If he behaved in his dioceſe like a true chriſtian biſhop, and did all in his power to root out ſuperſtition, and encourage the practice of piety and virtue, he was ſatisfied in his conſcience, that he did all towards the ſettlement of religion that could be expected from him. I make theſe remarks the rather, becauſe biſhop Burnet ſpeaks in a very ſlight manner of his public character at this time; whereas it is certain, that he never deſired to appear in any public character at all. His whole ambition was, to diſcharge the paſtoral functions of a biſhop; neither aiming to diſplay the abilities of the ſtateſman, nor of the courtier. How very unqualified he was to ſupport the latter of theſe characters, will ſufficiently appear from the following ſtory.

It was the cuſtom in thoſe days for the biſhops, upon the coming in of the new year, to make preſents to the king: and many of them would preſent very liberally; proportioning their gifts to their expectances. Among the reſt, the biſhop of Worceſter, being at this time in town, waited upon the king with his offering: but, inſtead of a purſe of gold, which was the common oblation, he preſented a New Teſtament, with a leaf doubled down,

down, in a very conſpicuous manner, to this paſſage, "Whoremongers and adulterers, God will judge."

The biſhop of Worceſter being again ſettled in his dioceſe, went on, with his uſual application, in the diſcharge of his duty. But I meet with no particulars of his behaviour at this time, except only in one inſtance.

A gentleman of Warwickſhire, in a purchaſe, had done ſome hard things to a poor man in his neighbourhood: yet he had kept within the limits of the law; taking the advantage of ſome unguarded expreſſion in a ſtatute. In this matter, he was aſſiſted by a brother, a juſtice of the peace, who was enough acquainted with the law to do miſchief, and who had chiefly negociated the affair. As theſe two brothers were men of great fortune in the country, and over-awed the neighbouring gentlemen, the poor man had nothing to do, but to ſit quietly under his oppreſſion. But while he was reconciling himſelf to what had happened, ſome of his friends put him upon applying, in the way of a complaint, to the biſhop of Worceſter; whoſe character, as the common patron of the poor and oppreſſed, was every where much ſpoken of. The poor man approved the advice, and taking a journey to the biſhop, acquainted him with the whole affair. The biſhop heard his ſtory, pitied his caſe, and ſent him home, with a promiſe of his protection. Accordingly, he ſoon after wrote to the juſtice, who had appeared in the affair, and endeavoured by proper arguments to raiſe in him a ſenſe of the injury he had been guilty of: ſpeaking his mind very freely

freely both of him, and his brother, yet treating them at the ſame time with proper civility. The two gentlemen were greatly incenſed at this letter; and anſwered it in the ſpirit of detected guilt: "They had done only what was right, and would abide by it: that as for the ſufferer, the law was open; and as for him, they could not but think he interfered very impertinently in an affair, which did not concern him." But in the biſhop of Worceſter they had not to do with a perſon, who was eaſily ſhaken from an honeſt purpoſe. He acquainted them in few words, "That if the cauſe of his complaint was not forthwith removed, he would certainly himſelf lay the whole affair before the king." And he had been, without doubt, as good as his word; but his adverſaries did not care to put him to a trial.

Having now been about two years reſident in his dioceſe, he was called up again to town in the year 1539, to attend the buſineſs of parliament: a parliament, which was productive of great events.—But as a new ſpirit had now infuſed itſelf into the counſels of thoſe times, it will be neceſſary to trace it, from its firſt efforts, into thoſe violent workings, and agitations, which it ſoon produced.

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SECTION VI.

KING Henry VIII. made as little uſe of a good judgment, as any man ever did. He had no fixed principles; his whole reign was one continued rotation of violent paſſions: through the means of which ſecret ſprings he was all his life a mere machine in the hands of his miniſters; and he among them who could make the moſt artful addreſs to the paſſion of the day, carried his point.

Gardiner was juſt returned from Germany; having ſucceſsfully negociated ſome commiſſions, which the king had greatly at heart. This introduced him with a good grace at court: where obſerving, with his uſual ſagacity, the temper and ſituation of men and things; and finding that room was left him to infuſe new counſels by the death of the queen, who exceedingly favoured the proteſtant intereſt; he collected every art he was maſter of, and with the ſubtilty of a bad ſpirit, beſet the king, hoping, in ſome weak part, to infuſe his deſigns under the ſemblance of ſtate policy.

It was imagined by many at that time, and hath ſince that time been confirmed by circumſtances, which came out afterwards, that Gardiner had begun thus early to entertain very ambitious deſigns, that he had been

in

in treaty with the pope, and that for expected favours, he was under ſecret engagements with him to introduce popery again into England.

With this view, therefore, he took frequent occaſions to alarm the king with apprehenſions of foreign and domeſtic danger. He would dwell upon the intrigues of the court of Rome, the power of the Emperor, the watchfulneſs of the Scots to take every advantage; and above all, the ſeditious ſpirit of his own ſubjects. He would then inſinuate, that ſomething ſhould be done in oppoſition to theſe threatning dangers: and that for his own part, he knew nothing that could be more effectual, than for his majeſty to ſhew a zeal for the old religion. That, as for his throwing off the papal yoke, he ſaid, it was a noble effort of his magnanimity; and was eſteemed ſuch by all ſober men: for the tyranny of the court of Rome was become intolerable. The ſuppreſſion of monaſteries was likewiſe, in his opinion, wholly juſtifiable; and his majeſty well knew, that none of his counſellors had been more ſanguine in that affair, than himſelf: but then he thought it was the part of wiſdom to conſider theſe things only in a political light; and for himſelf, he could not but greatly apprehend the bad conſequences of making any alterations in the eſtabliſhed religion. At leaſt, he would adviſe his majeſty to ſtop where he was, and by ſome vigorous act to ſhew the world, that he was not that patron of novel opinions, which he was generally eſteemed. By ſuch a ſtep he would make thoſe only his enemies, who were blind devotees

devotees to the papal power; and theſe were not one fourth part of Chriſtendom.

By ſuch infuſions as theſe, which he knew very well how to dreſs into the form of arguments, and could render plauſible by an artful diſplay of the ſituation of Europe; and by ſhewing how the intereſts of courts and factions coincided intirely with his ſchemes, the wily prelate ſo wrought upon the ſuſpicion, the ambition, or the vanity of the king, for he could ſhew his arguments in all lights, that by degrees he drew attention, and at length made ſuch an impreſſion, as he thought would ſerve his purpoſe. Having gone thus far, he next began to propoſe expedients; and as the king was about to call a parliament at this time, to confirm and finiſh what he had done with relation to monaſteries, he perſuaded him to take this opportunity of doing ſomething in the buſineſs he had counſelled. In the mean time, nothing of theſe deſigns tranſpired; at leaſt, ſo little, that the oppoſite party could make no uſe of their intelligence; for of all the wicked miniſters that have infeſted the councils of princes, perhaps none was ever more deep and ſecret, than the biſhop of Wincheſter.—This was the ſtate of affairs, when the biſhop of Worceſter was called up to London, to attend the buſineſs of parliament.

Soon after his arrival in town, he was accuſed before the king of preaching a ſeditious ſermon. The ſermon was preached at court; and the preacher, according to his cuſtom, had been unqueſtionably ſevere enough againſt

againſt whatever he obſerved amiſs. His accuſer, who is ſaid to have been a perſon of great eminence about the king, was moſt probably the biſhop of Wincheſter: for this prelate was known to make uſe of what arts he could to remove all thoſe from the national councils of thoſe times who were moſt likely to thwart his meaſures. The king had called together ſeveral of the biſhops with a view to conſult them upon ſome points of religion. When they had all given their opinions, and were about to be diſmiſſed, the biſhop of Wincheſter, if it was he, kneeled down before the king, and accuſed the biſhop of Worceſter in the above-mentioned manner, ſhewing how his ſermon, which he called a libel againſt the king and his miniſters, tended to alienate the people from their prince. The biſhop being called upon by the king, with ſome ſternneſs, to vindicate himſelf, was ſo far from denying, or even palliating what he had ſaid, that he boldly juſtified it; and turning to the king with that noble unconcern which a good conſcience inſpires, made this anſwer, "I never thought myſelf worthy, nor I never ſued to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you miſlike me, to give place to my betters: for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room that I am. And if it be your grace's pleaſure to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would deſire you to give me leave to diſcharge my conſcience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed, to have preached ſo at the borders of your realm, as I preach

preach before your grace." The greatneſs of this anſwer baffled his accuſer's malice; the ſeverity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious ſmile; and the biſhop was diſmiſſed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never uſed, but to thoſe whom he eſteemed.

The parliament, which had been ſummoned to meet on the 28th of April, having now ſat a week, the lord chancellor, on the 5th of May, informed the lords from the king, that "his majeſty had, with extreme uneaſineſs, obſerved the diſtracted condition of his ſubjects with regard to religion; that he had nothing ſo much at heart, as to eſtabliſh an uniformity of opinion amongſt them; and that he therefore deſired the lords would immediately appoint a committee to examine the ſeveral opinions that prevailed, and to fix upon certain articles for a general agreement." It was the manner, it ſeems, of thoſe times, to uſe no ceremony in fixing a ſtandard for men to think by; and to vary that ſtandard with as little ceremony, as new modes of thinking prevailed. The parliament, therefore, without any difficulty, complied; and named for a committee, the lord Cromwell, the two archbiſhops, and the biſhops of Worceſter, Ely, Durham, Bath and Wells, Carliſle, and Bangor.

Men of ſo oppoſite a way of thinking, were not likely to agree. After eleven days therefore ſpent, in warm debates, nothing was concluded. This was no more than was expected, and made room for the farce which followed.

On

On the twelfth day, the duke of Norfolk, according to the plan, which had been laid down, acquainted the lords, that "he found the committee had yet done nothing; that eleven days had been already ſpent in wrangling, and that he ſaw no poſſibility of coming to an agreement in that way. He begged leave, therefore, to offer to their lordſhips conſideration, ſome articles which he himſelf had drawn up, and which he deſired might be examined by a committee of the whole houſe." He then read the articles, which were theſe.

1. That in the ſacrament of the altar, after the conſecration, there remained no ſubſtance of bread and wine, but the natural body and blood of Chriſt.

2. That vows of chaſtity ought to be obſerved.

3. That the uſe of private maſſes ſhould be continued.

4. That communion in both kinds was not neceſſary.

5. That prieſts might not marry.

6. That auricular confeſſion ſhould be retained in the church.

The firſt of theſe articles was againſt the ſacramentaries, as they were called, who denied tranſubſtantiation. The ſecond was deſigned to keep the ejected clergy dependent on the pope; for Gardiner could not

hope at this time to eſtabliſh them. The reſt were opinions of the greateſt weight in popery.

The proteſtant party began now plainly enough to ſee a concerted ſcheme; and could trace it, without much difficulty, to its ſource. They reſolved, however, to collect what ſtrength they were able, and at leaſt, to make one ſtruggle. Each of them, therefore, did the utmoſt he could. But the noble ſtand made by the archbiſhop of Canterbury deſerves particularly to be remembered. This prelate diſputed, in the military phraſe, every inch of ground; and with ſuch force of reaſon, that if reaſon had been his adverſaries weapon too, he had carried his point.

Againſt the firſt article, indeed, he ſaid nothing; for at that time he held all the opinions of the Lutherans; among which, tranſubſtantiation was one. But againſt the ſecond, he was extremely earneſt. It was very hard, he ſaid, to force religious men from their houſes, and not allow them that common intercourſe with the world, which the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects enjoyed: that the parliament had already abſolved them from their vow of poverty; and he could ſee no reaſon why they ſhould be abſolved from one vow more than another: beſides, he added, that in his opinion, ſuch a treatment of them was very impolitic; for while they continued in a ſtate of cœlibacy, they were ſtill in a capacity, if a fair occaſion ſhould offer, to re-enter their monaſteries.

Againſt

Againſt the third article, which enjoined the uſe of private maſſes, he ſaid it was a plain condemnation of the king's proceedings againſt religious houſes: for if maſſes did benefit departed ſouls, it was ſurely an unjuſtifiable ſtep to deſtroy ſo many noble foundations, which were dedicated to that only purpoſe."

With equal ſpirit the archbiſhop oppoſed the reſt of the articles. But all his eloquence was ineffectual: the affair had been reſolved in the cabinet; and the parliament was conſulted only for form. The act therefore paſſed without much oppoſition; and was guarded with ſuch penalties, as made it indeed juſtly dreadful.

The act of the ſix articles, (for ſo it was named) was no ſooner publiſhed, than it gave an univerſal alarm to all the favourers of reformation. The proteſtants every where cried out, "their proſpect of happineſs was now over; they could not now expect a toleration: for they plainly ſaw, that a ſword was put into the hands of their enemies to deſtroy them:" while both papiſts and proteſtants joined in exclaiming, that, "it was difficult to ſay what the king intended: for it was neither ſafe to be of one profeſſion nor the other: the act of ſupremacy condemned the papiſt, and the act of the ſix articles, the proteſtant."

The biſhop of Worceſter was among thoſe who firſt took offence at theſe proceedings: and as he could not give his vote for the act, he thought it wrong to hold

any office in a church, where ſuch terms of communion were required. He reſigned his biſhopric therefore, and retired into the country.

It is related of him, that when he came from the parliament houſe to his lodgings, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to thoſe who ſtood about him, that, "he thought himſelf lighter, than ever he found himſelf before." The ſtory is not unlikely, as it is much in character; a vein of pleaſantry and good humour accompanying the moſt ſerious actions of his life.

In the mean time, vigilant emiſſaries were ſent abroad; articles of accuſation were gathered from all parts; and in London only, more than 500 perſons, in a very ſhort time, were impriſoned. Cromwell and Cranmer ſaw with concern the miſery of the times, but could not prevent it: they ſtood alone, and were beſides enough engaged in ſtemming a torrent, which ran ſtrong againſt themſelves. Cromwell was almoſt borne down, though his enemies carried on their deſigns with great ſecreſy. As for Cranmer, more than one open attempt had been made againſt him; but his ſovereign's favour ſheltered him: and, indeed, king Henry's care for this excellent prelate, to the end of his reign, is almoſt the only ſtriking inſtance we have, either of his ſteadineſs, or of his good nature.

During the heat of this perſecution biſhop Latimer reſided in the country, where he thought of nothing, for

for the remainder of his days, but a ſequeſtered life. He knew the ſtorm, which was up, could not ſoon be appeaſed; and he had no inclination to truſt himſelf in it. But in the midſt of his ſecurity, an unhappy accident carried him again into the tempeſtuous weather that was abroad. He received a bruiſe by the fall of a tree, and the contuſion was ſo dangerous, that he was obliged to ſeek for better aſſiſtance than could be afforded him by the unſkilful ſurgeons of thoſe parts. With this view, he repaired to London.

Here he found the proſpect ſtill more gloomy: the popiſh party had now triumphed over all their obſtacles; and he had the mortification to ſee his great patron, the lord Cromwell, in the hands of his enemies.

Of all the ſevere acts of that reign, the diſſolution of monaſteries gave moſt offence. The clamours of the expelled religious were ſtill loud and menacing; and theſe clamours were with great aſſiduity carried to the ears of the king, where they were repreſented as the effects of a general ſeditious ſpirit, capable of breaking out into any rebellious act. This induſtry, in ſhewing the king the odiouſneſs of his government, was uſed to blacken Cromwell, who was the chief agent in the ſuppreſſion of the religious houſes; and had indeed been more inſtrumental than any other man, in detecting the impoſtures of the popiſh clergy, who were univerſally incenſed againſt him. The king liſtened with a cruel attention to theſe whiſpers againſt his miniſter: and

and thought it no ill policy to make him the ſcape goat of his own offences.

Other cauſes, no doubt, conſpired in the ruin of this great patriot; and hiſtorians gueſs at many: but the truth is, this affair, as well as many others, which were directed by the dark counſels of the biſhop of Wincheſter, are ſtill involved in the ſame obſcurity. It is certain, however, that without even the form of a judicial trial, he was condemned to loſe his head.

Thus periſhed this excellent ſtateſman, who was the ornament of the times, in which he lived. He had a high ſenſe of public good; a noble, diſintereſted, and generous heart. His parts were equal to any perplexity of government. Nor was his private character inferior to his public. He was pious and charitable in a great degree; humble, patient of injury, and ſuch an example of gratitude as we ſeldom meet with. His death was ſuch a ſtain upon the memory of thoſe times, that if there had been no other, it had been enough to mark them with infamy.

Upon Cromwell's fall, the perſecution againſt the proteſtants broke out in earneſt. The duke of Norfolk, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, who were the principal inſtruments in the ruin of the late miniſter, were now at the head of the popiſh party: and the authority of the former giving credit to the crafty counſels of the latter, together they had the management of all things in their hands. Under the direction of theſe zealots, the

the ſword was preſently unſheathed; and ſuch a ſcene of blood was opened, as England had not yet ſeen.

Mr. Latimer, among others, felt the loſs of his great patron. Gardiner's emiſſaries ſoon found him out in his concealment, for he was ſtill in London; and ſomething that ſomebody had ſomewhere heard him ſay againſt the ſix articles being alledged againſt him, he was ſent to the tower. Into what particulars his accuſation was afterwards digeſted, or whether into any, we meet with no account. It is rather probable, that nothing formal was brought againſt him; for we do not find he was ever judicially examined. He ſuffered, however, through one pretence or other, a cruel impriſonment during the remainder of king Henry's reign.

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SECTION VII.

IN the ſpring of the year 1547, king Henry died; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward VI. This prince came a minor to the crown; and was left, by his father's will, in the hands of ſixteen governors. Theſe were at firſt equal in power; but dividing, as men commonly do in ſuch circumſtances, into factions, the earl of Hertford, the king's uncle, was raiſed above the reſt, with the title of Protector of the kingdom. Soon after he was created duke of Somerſet. This revolution was matter of great joy to the proteſtant party; for the protector was generally known to be a favourer of reformation. He was beſides a wiſe and an honeſt man; and his want of ſpirit and reſolution was thought to be amply recompenced by his moderation and extreme popularity.

As for the young king, he is extolled in hiſtory as a miracle of human nature. But though we make allowances for the exaggerated accounts of proteſtant writers, whoſe gratitude may be ſuppoſed to have broken out into high ſtrains of encomium, ſuch an aſſemblage of great and good qualities, will ſtill be left him, as have ſeldom diſcovered themſelves in ſo young a perſon; and much ſeldomer in one, ſubject to the temptations of royalty. Among his other virtues, piety was conſpicuous.

cuous. With him the ſettlement of religion was an end; with his father it had been a mean. And as he had been bred up from his infancy, either among moderate men, or profeſſed proteſtants, he had imbibed early prejudices in favour of the reformed doctrines. The protector, therefore, found no obſtacle in his deſigns from the young king.

The proteſtant intereſt was ſtill farther ſtrengthened by the addition of archbiſhop Cranmer's counſels; which had now all that weight, which the protector's authority could give them.

On the other hand, Gardiner, Tunſtal, and Bonner, who was now biſhop of London, ſet themſelves at the head of the popiſh party, and oppoſed the protector as much as they durſt: not indeed openly and directly; for they preſently obſerved the turning of the wind, and had ſhifted their ſails with great nimbleneſs; but thwarting the means rather than the meaſures, they oppoſed him, with that plauſible diſſimulation, which men, dextrous in buſineſs, can eaſily aſſume. Their common language was, that, "however neceſſary theſe alterations were, they were certainly at this time highly improper—that a minority was not a ſeaſon for innovations—that it was enough to keep things quiet, till the king came of age, and that abuſes might then be inquired into, and remedies applied, with all that authority, which the full regal power could give."

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Their oppoſition, however, had little effect; and many changes in religion were projected, and ſome carried into execution, with as much diſpatch as affairs of ſuch importance would admit. The act of the ſix articles was repealed; images were removed out of churches; the liturgy was amended; and all miniſters were confined to their pariſh-churches. This laſt was an excellent mean to prevent the ſpreading both of popery and ſedition: while ſpecial licences were granted to approved men to preach where they pleaſed. And what recommended theſe changes to ſober men of all diſtinctions, was, the great moderation, and ſpirit of candour which accompanied them throughout. Two acts of blood, indeed, ſtand upon record: a ſhameful and indelible ſtain upon the annals of that adminiſtration!

At the cloſe of the laſt ſection, we left Mr. Latimer in the tower, where he had now lived above ſix years, in the conſtant practice of every chriſtian virtue, that becomes a ſuffering ſtate. Immediately upon the change of the government, he, and all others who were impriſoned in the ſame cauſe, were ſet at liberty: and biſhop Latimer, whoſe old friends were now in power, was received by them with every mark of affection.

Heath, who had ſucceeded him in the biſhopric of Worceſter, obſerving his credit at court, and fearing leſt it ſhould be thought proper to re-inſtate him, was in a great dilemma, how to conduct himſelf. As he was a man of no principle, he had only to obſerve the temper of the times, and to manage accordingly. But unhappily

unhappily he was as bad a courtier as a biſhop. Making falſe judgments therefore, and being drawn in by artful men, he applied to the papiſts, inſtead of the proteſtants. His party, and his folly, for he was in every reſpect an inſignificant man, laid him ſo exceedingly open, that Mr. Latimer would have found no difficulty in diſpoſſeſſing him. But he had other ſentiments: age coming upon him, he thought himſelf now unequal to the weight of a biſhopric, and had no inclination to incumber himſelf with one. Perhaps too, he might think there was ſomething of hardſhip and injuſtice in the caſe. Whatever were his reaſons, it is certain he would make no ſuit himſelf, nor ſuffer his friends to make any, for his reſtoration.

But the parliament, which was now ſitting, having ſettled every thing of national concern, and applying itſelf to private buſineſs, ſent up an addreſs to the protector, begging him to reſtore Mr. Latimer to the biſhopric of Worceſter. The protector was very well inclined to gratify the commons, and propoſed the reſumption of his biſhopric to Mr. Latimer, as a point he had very much at heart: but the other perſevered in his negative, alledging his great age, and the claim he had from thence to a private life.

The report of the parliament's interpoſition reaching Heath's ears, terrified him to ſuch a degree, that, taking it for granted his popery had been complained of, he immediately deſerted his party, and became an orthodox proteſtant. And thus ſhewing a conſcientious regard

gard for neither, he became contemptible to both parties.

Mr. Latimer having rid himſelf intirely of all intreaty on this head, accepted an invitation from his friend archbiſhop Cranmer, and took up his reſidence at Lambeth; where he led a very retired life. I call it retired, becauſe he ſaw little company and never interfered in public affairs: though he had always as crouded a levee as a miniſter of ſtate. His chief employment was to hear the complaints, and to redreſs the injuries of poor people: and his character, for ſervices of this kind, was ſo univerſally known, that ſtrangers, from every part of England, would reſort to him, vexed either by the delays of public courts and offices, which were ſurely at that time exceedingly out of order; or harraſſed by the oppreſſions of the great. "I cannot go to my book, (ſays he, giving an account of theſe avocations) for poor folks that come unto me, deſiring that I will ſpeak, that their matters may be heard. Now and then I walk in my lord of Canterbury's garden, looking in my book: but I can do but little good at it; for I am no ſooner in the garden, and have read a little while, but by and by cometh ſome one or other knocking at the gate. Anon, cometh my man, and ſaith, Sir, there is one at the gate would ſpeak with you. When I come there, then it is ſome one or other that deſireth me that I will ſpeak, that his matter may be heard; or that telleth me he hath lain this long time at great coſt and charges,

or

or that he cannot once have his matter come to an hearing."

And ſure, no one was better qualified to undertake the office of redreſſing injuries: for his free reproofs, joined to the integrity of his life, had a great effect upon thoſe in the higheſt ſtations; while his own independence, and backwardneſs in aſking any favour for himſelf, allowed him greater liberty in aſking for others.

In theſe employments he ſpent more than two years; interfering as little as poſſible, during that whole time, in any public tranſaction: though no doubt, if he had pleaſed, he might have had great weight, at leaſt in eccleſiaſtical affairs. But beſides the diſtruſt he had of his own judgment, he was a man of ſuch exactneſs in his principles and practice, that he could ſcarce have made thoſe allowances for men and meaſures, which prudent counſellors muſt make in corrupt times; and was backward therefore in drawing upon himſelf ſuch engagements, as might lead him, more or leſs, into a deviation from truth. We find him, however, at this time, engaged in aſſiſting archbiſhop Cranmer to compoſe the homilies, which were ſet forth by authority, in the firſt year of king Edward. A uſeful work this was; intended to ſupply the want of preaching, which was now at a very low ebb.

The clergy of the old perſuaſion choſe to have themſelves conſidered as a ſort of factors, who were to tranſ-

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act the ſpiritual buſineſs of the people: while the people, in the mean time, having paid their agents, had no further concern about their ſalvation. Thus religion was turned into a trade; and the prieſts having gotten the monopoly of it, maintained themſelves in this monopoly by their preaching. Church endowments, private maſſes, and ſuch gainful topics were inſiſted on; and theſe things ſuperſeded faith and good morals.

This univerſal corruption in prieſthood, was a melancholy proſpect to all, who wiſhed well to reformation; and it was the more melancholy, as it was an evil which could not in many years admit a cure. What ſeemed beſt, however, was to keep the clergy, as much as poſſible, out of the pulpits; and to this end the book of homilies was compoſed, and put into the hands of all miniſters of pariſhes, who were enjoined by authority to read one every ſunday, inſtead of preaching. In theſe homilies, the doctrines of chriſtianity were explained; the people were ſhewn the inſignificance of outward obſervances, and were taught to believe that their ſalvation depended upon themſelves.

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SECTION VIII.

WE have had frequent occaſion to conſider Mr. Latimer as a preacher; as indeed he was of the moſt eloquent and popular of the age, in which he lived; but at this time he appeared in that character in a more advantageous light than he had yet done; having been appointed, during the three firſt years of king Edward, to preach the lent ſermons before the king. The choice of ſuch a preacher was approved by all good men: great irregularities were known to prevail; and Mr. Latimer was acknowledged to be as fit a man as any in the nation to detect and cenſure them.

The court of king Edward VI, and indeed the whole frame of his government, was in as great diſorder as almoſt any court or any government could be, in the worſt of times. The example of the young king was noble and inſtructive; and would by degrees, no doubt, have had its influence; but as he was yet only a boy, and in the hands of others, he had little weight. Nor was the protector a man qualified to curb licentious ſpirits. He was of an eaſy nature, and though he wiſhed to ſee things in order, yet he could contribute little more than a good example to keep them ſo. As the principal ſprings were thus weak, it is no wonder if the inferior movements were irregular. A minority was thought the

the ſeaſon for every one to make his claim; and ſuch claims were made by all who had any pretenſions to court-favours, as equally ſurpriſed and ſcandalized all ſober obſervers. The ſpoils of an hundred and ſixty monaſteries, inſtead of ſatisfying, had increaſed the avarice of the courtiers. Having already pruned away all the ſuperfluous parts, and much ſuperfluity there was, from the revenues of the church; they began now to lop off thoſe vital branches, which were neceſſary for its ſupport. Inſomuch, that there was ſcarce a benefice in the nation of any conſiderable value, on which ſome greedy courtier was not penſioned. To this inſatiable avarice was added a licentiouſneſs of manners, beyond the example of former times.

A court thus corrupt, produced its neceſſary conſequence, corruption in every order of the ſtate. Never was juſtice worſe adminiſtered: never were the diſpenſers of it more venal. The public offices too were equally corrupt, eſpecially thoſe of the revenue, where the moſt ſcandalous depredations were made. Nor did the country retain its innocence. Here the gentry practiſed thoſe arts of avarice and rapine, which they had learned at court, and taught the people all thoſe vices, to which indigence gives birth. While the clergy, inſtead of qualifying in ſome degree this corrupt maſs, by a mixture of piety and devotion, incorporated with it, and even increaſed its malignity by an addition of as bad, if not of worſe ingredients.

This was the ſtate of practical religion in the nation, when Mr. Latimer was called to the office of a court

court-preacher. As to his ſermons, which are ſtill extant, they are far from being exact pieces of compoſition. Elegant writing was then little known. Some polite ſcholars there were, Cheek, Aſcham, and a few others, who, from an acquaintance with claſſical learning, of which they were the reſtorers, began to think in a new manner, and could treat a ſubject with accuracy at leaſt, if not with elegance. But in general, the writers of that age, and eſpecially the church-men, were equally incorrect in their compoſition, and ſlovenly in their language. We muſt not, therefore, expect that Mr. Latimer's diſcourſes will ſtand a critical inquiry: they are at beſt looſe, incoherent pieces: yet his ſimplicity, and low familiarity, his humour, and gibing drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceedingly popular. His manner of preaching too was very affecting: and no wonder; for he ſpoke immediately from his heart.

His abilities, however, as an orator, made only the inferior part of his character as a preacher. What particularly recommends him is, that noble and apoſtolic zeal, which he exerts in the cauſe of truth. And ſure no one had an higher ſenſe of what became his office; was leſs influenced by any ſiniſter motive; or durſt with more freedom reprove vice, however dignified by worldly diſtinctions.

It is in this light then, in which I would particularly recommend him; and ſhall therefore, in the following

pages, give the reader ſome inſtances, in his own words, of that ſpirit, with which he laſhed the courtly vices of his time.

In his firſt ſermon, which is addreſſed chiefly to the king, he opens his commiſſion: "The preacher, ſays he, cannot correct the king, if he be a tranſgreſſor, with the temporal ſword, but with the ſpiritual; fearing no man, ſetting God only before his eyes, under whom he is a miniſter to root up vice. Let the preacher therefore, never fear to declare the meſſage of God. And if the king will not hear, then let the preacher admoniſh him, pray for him, and ſo leave him unto God." He then proceeds to point out to the king his duty, in ſeveral inſtances.

In his ſecond ſermon, he laſhes the clergy. "It is a marvel, ſays he, if any miſchief be in hand, if a prieſt be not at one end of it.—I will be a ſuitor to your grace, to give your biſhops charge ere they go home, upon their allegiance to look better to their flock. And if they be found negligent, out with them: I require it in God's behalf, make them quondams, all the pack of them; your majeſty hath divers of your chaplains, well learned men, and of good knowledge, to put in their place: and yet you have ſome that are bad enough, hangers on of the court, I mean not theſe. But if your majeſty's chaplains, and my lord protector's, be not able to furniſh their places, there is in this realm, thanks be to God, a great fight of laymen, well-learned in the ſcriptures, and of a virtuous and godly converſation, bet-

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ter learned than a great ſight of us the clergy. This I move of conſcience to your grace. And let them not only do the function of biſhops, but live of the ſame: and not, as in many places, that one ſhould have the name, and another the profit. What an enormity is this, for a man to ſerve in a civility, and have the profit of a provoſtſhip, and a deanery, and a parſonage. But I will tell you what is like to come of it: it will bring the clergy ſhortly into very ſlavery.—But I fear one thing, that for ſaving a little money, you will put chantry-prieſts into benefices. Chriſt bought ſouls with his blood; and will you ſell them for gold and ſilver? I would not have you do with chantry-prieſts, as was done with abbots. For when their enormities were firſt read in the parliament, they were ſo abominable, that there was nothing but, Down with them: but within a while after, the ſame abbots were made biſhops, as there be ſome of them yet alive, to ſave their penſions. O Lord! think you that God is a fool, and ſeeth it not?"

Afterwards, warning the king againſt flatterers, he tells him that God ſays, If the king ſhall do his will, he ſhall reign long, he and his children. "Wherefore, ſays he, I would have your grace remember this, and when any of theſe flatterers, and flibber-gibbers another day ſhall come, and claw you by the back, and ſay, Sir, trouble not yourſelf: what ſhould you ſtudy for? why ſhould you do this or that? your grace may anſwer them thus, What, ſirrah? I perceive you are weary of us. Doth not God ſay in ſuch a place, that a king

ſhould fear God, that he may reign long? I perceive now that thou art a traytor. Tell him this tale once, and I warrant you he will come no more to you."

He then ſpeaks of the delay of juſtice, and the abuſes in the law. "I hear of many matters, ſays he, before my lord protector, and my lord chancellor, that cannot be heard. I muſt deſire my lord protector's grace to hear me in this matter; and that your grace would likewiſe hear poor men's ſuits yourſelf. Put them to none other to be heard: let them not be delayed. The ſaying is now, that money is heard every where: if a man be rich, he ſhall ſoon have an end of his matter. Others are fain to go home with tears, for any help they can obtain at any judge's hand. Hear men's ſuits yourſelf, I require you, in God's behalf; and put them not to the hearing of theſe velvet-coats, and upſkips. Now a man can ſcarce know them from ancient knights of the country.——A gentlewoman came to me, and told me, that a certain great man keepeth ſome lands of hers from her; and that in a whole year ſhe could but get one day for the hearing of her matter; and on that day the great man brought on his ſide, a fight of lawyers for his counſel, and that ſhe had but one man of the law; and the great man ſo ſhakes him, that he cannot tell what to do; ſo that when the matter came to the point, the judge was a mean to the gentlewoman, that ſhe would let the great man have a quietneſs in her land. I beſeech your grace that you will look to theſe matters. Hear them yourſelf. View your judges; and hear poor men's cauſes. And you, proud judges, hearken what God ſaith in his holy

holy book: Hear the poor, ſaith he, as well as the rich. Mark that ſaying, thou proud judge. The devil will bring this ſentence at the day of doom. Hell will be full of ſuch judges, if they repent not and amend. They are worſe than the wicked judge, Chriſt ſpeaketh of: for they will neither hear men for God's ſake, nor fear of the world, nor importunity, nor any thing elſe. Yea, ſome of them will command them to ward, if they be importunate. I heard ſay, that when a ſuitor came to one of them, he ſaid, What fellow is it that giveth theſe folks counſel to be ſo importunate? He ſhould be committed to ward. Marry, Sir, commit me then: it is even I that gave them that counſel. And if you amend not, I will cauſe them to cry out upon you ſtill, even as long as I live."

In his third ſermon he laſhes the judges again. "Now-a-days, ſays he, the judges are afraid to hear a poor man againſt the rich: they will either pronounce againſt him, or drive off the ſuit, that he ſhall not be able to go through with it. But the greateſt man in the realm cannot ſo hurt a judge as a poor widow; ſuch a ſhrewd turn can ſhe do him. The cries of the poor aſcend to heaven, and call down vengeance from God. —Cambiſes was a great emperor, ſuch another as our maſter is: he had many lord preſidents, lord deputies, and lieutenants under him. It chanced he had under him, in one of his dominions, a briber, a gift-taker, a gratifier of rich men. The cry of a poor widow came to the emperor's ears; upon which he flayed the judge quick, and laid his ſkin in the chair of judgment; that

that all judges, that ſhould give judgment afterwards ſhould ſit in the ſame ſkin. Surely it was a goodly ſign, the ſign of the judge's ſkin: I pray God, we may once ſee the ſign of the ſkin in England."

Before he concludes, he ſpeakes of the progreſs of the reformation. "It was yet, he ſaid, but a mingle-mangle, and a hotch-potch: I cannot tell what, ſays he, partly popery, and partly true religion mingled together. They ſay in my country, when they call their hogs to the ſwine-trough, Come to thy mingle mangle, come pur, come. Even ſo do they make mingle-mangle of the goſpel. They can clatter and prate of it, but when all cometh to all, they joined popery ſo with it, that they marred all together."—In this ſermon too he inveighs againſt debaſing the coin, and ſhews the bad conſequences of it. The paſſage is quoted at length by Mr. Folkes, in his treatiſe upon Engliſh coins.

In his fourth ſermon, he again taxes the biſhops. "Thou ſhalt not, ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to the king, be partaker of other men's ſins. So ſaith St. Paul. And what is it to be a partaker of other men's ſins, if it be not ſo, to make unpreaching prelates, and to ſuffer them to continue ſtill in their unpreaching prelacy. If the king ſhould ſuffer theſe things, and look through his fingers, and wink at them, ſhould not the king be a partaker of other men's ſins? And why? Is he not ſupreme head of the church? What? Is the ſupremacy a dignity, and nothing elſe? Is it not accountable? I think verily it will be a chargeable dignity, when account ſhall

ſhall be aſked of it.—If the ſalt is unſavoury, it is good for nothing. By this ſalt is underſtood preachers. And if it is good for nothing, it ſhould be caſt out. Out with them then, caſt them out of their office. What ſhould they do with cures, that will not look to them?—Oh that a man might have the contemplation of hell; that the devil would allow a man to look into it, and ſee its ſtate, as he ſhewed all the world, when he tempted Chriſt in the wilderneſs. On yonder ſide, would the devil ſay, are puniſhed unpreaching prelates. I think verily a man might ſee as far as a kenning, as far as from Calais to Dover I warrant you, and ſee nothing but unpreaching prelates.—As for them, I never look to have their good words as long as I live. Yet will I ſpeak of their wickedneſs, as long as I ſhall be permitted to ſpeak. No preacher can paſs it over in ſilence. It is the original root of all miſchief. As for me, I owe them no other ill-will, but to pray God to amend them. I would have them do their duty. I owe them no other malice than this, and this is none at all."

In his fifth ſermon he again laſhes the judges, and patrons of livings. "If a judge, ſays he, ſhould aſk me the way to hell, I would ſhew him this way: firſt let him be a covetous man; then let him go a little farther, and take bribes, and laſtly, let him pervert judgment. Lo, here is the mother, and the daughter, and the daughter's daughter. Avarice is the mother; ſhe brings forth bribe-taking, and bribe-taking perverting of judgment. There lacks a fourth thing to make up the meſs, which, ſo God help me, if I were judge, ſhould

ſhould be a Tyburn tippet. Were it the judge of the king's bench, my lord chief judge of England, yea, were it my lord chancellor himſelf, to Tyburn with him.—But one will ſay, peradventure, you ſpeak unſeemly ſo to be againſt the officers, for taking of rewards: you conſider not the matter to the bottom. Their offices be bought for great ſums: now how ſhould they receive their money again, but by bribing? you would not have them undone. Some of them give two hundred pounds, ſome five hundred, ſome two thouſand; and how can they gather up this money again, but by helping themſelves in their office?—And is it ſo, trow ye? Are civil offices bought for money? Lord God! who would have thought it! Oh! that your grace would ſeek through your realm for men, meet for offices, yea, and give them liberally for their pains, rather than that they ſhould give money for them. This buying of offices is a making of bribery: for he that buyeth, muſt needs ſell. You ſhould ſeek out for offices wiſe men, and men of activity, that have ſtomachs to do their buſineſs; not milk-ſops, nor white-livered knights; but fearers of God: for he that feareth God, will be no briber.—But perhaps you will ſay, we touch no bribes. No, marry; but my miſtreſs, your wife, hath a fine finger; ſhe toucheth it for you; or elſe you have a ſervant, who will ſay, if you will offer my maſter a yoke of oxen, you will fare never the worſe: but I think my maſter will not take them. When he has offered them to the maſter, then comes another ſervant, and ſays, if you will carry them to the clerk of the kitchen, you will be remembered the better. This

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is a frierly faſhion: they will receive no money in their hands, but will have it put upon their ſleeves."

Speaking of venal patrons, he cries out, "O Lord, in what caſe are we! I marvel the ground gapes not and devours us. Surely, if they uſed their religion ſo in Turkey, the Turk would not ſuffer it in his commonwealth. Patrons are charged to ſee the office done, not to get lucre by his patronſhip. There was a patron in England, that had a benefice fallen into his hand, and a good brother of mine came unto him, and brought him thirty apples in a diſh, which he gave to his man to carry to his maſter. Having preſented them, he ſaid, Sir, ſuch a man hath ſent you a diſh of fruit, and deſireth you to be good to him for ſuch a benefice. Tuſh, quoth he, this is no apple matter; I will have none of his apples: I have as good as theſe in my own orchard. The man came to the prieſt again, and told him what his maſter ſaid. Then, quoth the prieſt, deſire him but to prove one of them for my ſake: he ſhall find them better than they look for. Upon this, he cut one of them, and found ten pieces of gold in it. Marry, quoth he, this is a good apple. The prieſt ſtanding not far off, hearing what the gentleman ſaid, cried out, they all grow on one tree, I warrant you, Sir, and have all one taſte. Well, this is a good fellow; let him have the benefice, quoth the patron. Get you but a graft of this tree, and it will ſerve you in better ſtead, I warrant you, than all St. Paul's learning. But let patrons take heed; for they ſhall anſwer for all the ſouls that periſh through their default; and yet this is taken for a laughing

laughing matter.— I desire your majesty to remedy these matters; and see redress in this realm in your own person. Although, my lord protector, I doubt not, and the rest of the council do, in the mean time, all that lieth in their power to redress things."

He begins his sixth sermon with taxing the fashionable vices of the age. He begins with duelling, and exclaims against the remissness of the law in punishing it. "I do not know, says he, what you call chance-medley in the law: the law is not my study. I am a scholar in scripture, in God's book: I study that; and I know what is murder in the sight of God. I fall out with a man; he is angry with me, and I with him; and lacking opportunity and place, we put it off for that time. In the mean season I prepare my weapon, and sharp it against another time. I swell and boil in my mind against my adversary: I seek him; we meddle together; it is my chance, by reason my weapon is better than his, and so forth, to kill him: I give him his death stroke in my vengeance. This I call voluntary murder from scripture: what it is in the law I cannot tell.— A searcher in London, executing his office, displeased a merchant. They had words, and the merchant kills him. They that told me this tale, say, it is winked at: they look through their fingers, and will not see it. Whether it is taken up with a pardon or not, I know not; but this I am sure of, that if you bear with such matters, the devil will bear you away to hell.—O Lord! what whoredom is used now-a-days! It is marvel that the earth gapeth not, and swalloweth us up. God hath suffered

ſuffered long of his great mercy; but he will puniſh ſharply at length, if we do not repent.—There are ſuch dicing-houſes alſo, they ſay, as have not been wont to be; where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies alſo. For the love of God let remedy be had. Men of England, in time paſt, when they would exerciſe themſelves, were wont to go abroad in the fields a ſhooting. The art of ſhooting hath been in times paſt much eſteemed in the realm, in which we excel all other nations. In my time, my poor father was as diligent to teach me to ſhoot, as to learn me any other thing; and ſo I think other men did their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and to draw not with ſtrength of arm, as other nations do, but with ſtrength of body. But now we have taken up whoring in towns, inſtead of ſhooting in fields. I deſire you, my lords, even as you have the honour of God at heart, and intend to remove his indignation, let there be ſent forth ſome proclamation, ſome ſharp proclamation, to the juſtices of peace; for they do not their duty. Juſtices now be no juſtices."—In the following part of his diſcourſes he ridicules an argument for the pope's ſupremacy, made uſe of by cardinal Pool, in his book againſt king Henry. "Jeſus cometh, ſaith he, to Simon's boat: now come the papiſts, and they will make a myſtery of it: they will pick out the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome in Peter's boat. We may make allegories enough of every part of ſcripture: but ſurely, it muſt needs be a ſimple matter, that ſtandeth on ſo weak

a ground. If you aſk, why to Simon's boat, rather than to any other? I will anſwer, as I find by experience in myſelf. I came hither to-day from Lambeth in a wherry, and when I came to take my boat, the watermen came about me, as the manner is, and he would have me, and he would have me. I took one of them. Now you will aſk me, why I came in that boat rather than any other? Why, becauſe it was next me, and ſtood more commodiouſly for me. And ſo did Chriſt by Simon's boat: it ſtood nearer to him, or mayhap he ſaw a better ſeat in it.—It followeth in the text, that he taught ſitting. Preachers, belike, were ſitters in thoſe days. I would our preachers would preach either ſitting or ſtanding.—The text doth not tell us what he taught. If I were a papiſt now, I could tell you what he ſaid; as pope Nicholas and biſhop Lanfrank did, who tell us that Chriſt ſaid thus. Peter, I do mean, by thus ſitting in thy boat, that thou go to Rome, and be biſhop there five and twenty years after mine aſcenſion; and that all thy ſucceſſors ſhall be rulers of the univerſal church after thee.—Well; it followeth in the text, launch out into the deep. Here Peter was made a great man, and all his ſucceſſors after him, ſay the papiſts. And their argument is this, he ſpake to Peter only, and in the ſingular number; therefore he gave him pre-eminence above the reſt. A goodly argument! I wene it to be a ſyllogiſmus. Well; I will make a like argument. Our Saviour Chriſt ſaid to Judas, when he was about to betray him, What thou doſt, do quickly. He ſpake in the ſingular number to him; therefore he gave him pre-eminence.—Belike, he made him a cardinal; and it

might

might full well be, for they have followed Judas ever ſince.

In this ſermon, likewiſe, he again attacks the clergy. "Chriſt tells us; ſaith he, it behoved him to preach the goſpel, for therefore was he ſent. Is it a marvellous thing, that our unpreaching prelates can read this place, and yet preach ſo little as they do? I marvel that they can go quietly to bed.—The devil hath ſet up a ſtate of unpreaching prelacy theſe ſeven hundred years, and hath made unpreaching prelates. ——— I heard of a biſhop of England, that went on a viſitation, and when he ſhould have been rung into the town, as the cuſtom is, the great bell's clapper was fallen down. There was a great matter made of this, and the chief of the pariſh were much blamed for it in the viſitation; and the biſhop was ſomewhat quick with them. They made their anſwers, and excuſed themſelves as well as they could: it was a chance, they ſaid; and it ſhould be amended as ſhortly as it might be. Among them there was one wiſer than the reſt, who comes up to the biſhop: "Why, my lord, ſays he, doth your lordſhip make ſo great a matter of the bell that lacketh a clapper? Here is a bell, ſaith he, and pointed to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper theſe twenty years." I warrant you, this biſhop was an unpreaching prelate: he could find fault with the bell that wanted a clapper to ring him into town, but he could find no fault with the parſon that preached not at his benefice.—I came once myſelf to a place, riding on a journey, and ſent word over-night into the town, that I would preach there in the morning,

becauſe

becauſe it was a holiday. The church ſtood in my way, and I took my horſe, and rode thither, thinking I ſhould have found a great company at church. When I came there, the church-door was faſt locked. I tarried there half an hour and more: at laſt, one of the pariſh comes to me, and ſays, Sir, this is a buſy day with us, we cannot hear you: it is Robin Hood's day: the pariſh are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood: I pray you hinder them not. And ſo I was fain to give place to Robin Hood. And all this cometh of unpreaching prelates: if the biſhops had been preachers, there ſhould never have been any ſuch thing.—They upbraid the people with ignorance, when they were the cauſe of it themſelves."

He concludes his ſermon with an addreſs to the king. "I know no man, ſaith he, that hath greater labour than the king. What is his labour? To ſtudy God's book: to ſee that there be no unpreaching prelates in his realm, nor bribing judges; to ſee to all eſtates; to provide for the poor; to ſee that victuals are good and cheap. And is not this a labour, trow ye?—Chriſt teacheth us by his example, that he abhorreth all idleneſs; when he was a carpenter, he did the work of his calling; and when he was a preacher, he did the work of that calling: he was no unpreaching prelate."

His ſeventh ſermon was preached upon Good-friday, and is adapted to the day. It affords little opportunity, therefore, of dwelling upon the corruptions of the age. He begins with recapitulating the ſubjects of his former diſcourſes. "I have intreated, ſays he, of ſuch matters

matters as I thought fit for this auditory. I have had ado with many eſtates, even with the higheſt of all. I have intreated of the duty of kings, of the duty of magiſtrates, and judges, and of the duty of prelates: and I think there is none of us, neither preacher nor hearer, but may be amended, and redreſs our lives. We may all ſay, yea, all the pack of us, we have ſinned with our fathers, and done wickedly.—You that be of the court, and eſpecially the ſworn chaplains, beware of a leſſon, which a great man taught me upon my firſt coming to court. He told it me for good-will, and thought it well. You muſt beware, ſaid he, however you do, not to contrary the king: let him have his ſayings, and go with him. Marry, out upon this counſel: ſhall I ſay, as he ſaith? What a worm ſhall you feel gnawing? What remorſe ſhall you have, when you remember how you have ſlacked your duty?"

In this ſermon he gives his opinion of the fathers. Having found fault with an interpretation, which Origen hath given of a paſſage of ſcripture; "Theſe doctors, ſays he, we have great cauſe to bleſs God for; but I would not have them always allowed. They have handled many points of our faith very godly; and we may have a great ſtay upon them in many things: we might not well lack them. But yet, I would not have men to be ſworn to them, and ſo addict, as to take hand over head whatſoever they ſay: it were a great inconvenience ſo to do."

In

In his laſt ſermon, which he acquaints his audience ſhall be the laſt he will ever preach in that place, he touches upon all the particular corruptions of the age. He begins it thus: "Take heed, and beware of covetouſneſs: take heed and beware of covetouſneſs: take heed and beware of covetouſneſs: take heed and beware of covetouſneſs: and what if I ſhould ſay nothing elſe theſe three or four hours, but theſe words?—Great complaints there are of it, and much crying out, and much preaching; but little amendment, that I can ſee.—Covetouſneſs is the root of all evil. Then have at the root: out with your ſwords, ye preachers, and ſtrike at the root. Stand not ticking and toying at the branches, for new branches will ſpring out again, but ſtrike at the root, and fear not theſe great men; theſe men of power; theſe oppreſſors of the needy; fear them not, but ſtrike at the root."

In this ſermon he addreſſes himſelf frequently, and with great freedom to the king. "I come now, ſays he, rather as a ſuiter to your majeſty, than a preacher: for I come to take my laſt farewel in this place: and here I will aſk a petition. For the love of God take an order for marriages here in England. There is much adultery now-a days, not only in the nobility, but among the inferior ſort. I could wiſh, therefore, that a law might be provided in this behalf, and that adulterers might be puniſhed with death. If the huſband, or wife ſhould become ſuiter, they might be pardoned the firſt time, but not the ſecond.—And here I have another ſuit to your majeſty: when you come to age, beware

beware what perſons you have about you. For if you be ſet on pleaſure, or diſpoſed to wantonneſs, you ſhall have miniſters enough to be fartherers and inſtruments of it.—Fear not foreign princes, and foreign powers. God ſhall make you ſtrong enough: fear him; fear not them. Peradventure you ſhall have that ſhall move you, and ſay unto you; "oh, Sir, ſuch a one is a mighty prince, and a king of great power: you cannot be without his friendſhip: agree with him in religion, or elſe you ſhall have him your enemy." Well; fear them not; cleave to God; and he ſhall defend you: though you ſhould have that would turn with you, yea, even in their white rochets.—Beware, therefore, of two affections, fear, and love. And I require you, look to your office yourſelf, and lay not all on the officers backs. Receive bills of ſupplication yourſelf. I do not ſee you do now-a-days, as you were wont to do laſt year. Poor men put up bills every day, and never the nearer. Begin, therefore, doing of your office yourſelf, now when you are young; and ſit once or twice in the week in council among your lords: it will cauſe things to have good ſucceſs, and matters will not be ſo lingered from day to day."

With equal ſpirit he taxes the inferior orders of men. "Ye noblemen, ſays he, I wot not what rule ye keep, but for God's ſake, hear the complaints of the poor. Many complain againſt you, that ye lie in bed till eight, nine, or ten o'clock. I cannot tell what revel ye have over night, whether banqueting, dicing, carding, or how it is: but in the morning, when poor ſuiters come

to your houſes, ye cannot be ſpoke with. They are kept ſometimes without your gates; or if they be let into the hall, or ſome outer chamber, out cometh one or other; Sir, you cannot ſpeak with my lord yet, he is aſleep. And thus poor ſuiters are driven from day to day, that they cannot ſpeak with you. For God's love, look better to it; ſpeak with poor men, when they come to your houſes, and diſpatch poor ſuiters. I went one day myſelf betimes in the morning to a great man's houſe, to ſpeak with him of buſineſs. And methought, I was up betimes: but when I came thither, the great man was gone forth about ſuch affairs as behoved him. Well, thought I, this is well: I like this. This man doth ſomewhat regard his duty. I came too late for my own matter, and loſt my journey; but I was glad to be ſo beguiled. For God's ſake, ye great men, follow this example: riſe in the mornings: be ready for ſuiters that reſort to you; and diſpatch them out of hand.——In the city of Corinth, one had married his ſtep-mother: he was a jolly fellow, a great rich man, belike an alderman of the city, and ſo they winked at it, and would not meddle with the matter. But St. Paul hearing of it, wrote unto them, and in God's behalf, charged them to do away ſuch abomination from among them: nor would he leave them, till he had excommunicated that wicked perſon. If ye now ſhould excommunicate all ſuch wicked perſons, there would be much ado in England. But the magiſtrates ſhew favour to ſuch, and will not ſuffer them to be rooted out, or put to ſhame. Oh! he is ſuch a man's ſervant, we may not meddle with him. Oh! he is a gentleman, we may not put

him

him to ſhame. And ſo lechery is uſed throughout all England; and ſuch lechery as is uſed in no other part of the world. And yet it is made a matter of ſport, a laughing matter, not to be heeded. But beware, ye magiſtrates; for God's love beware of this leaven. I would wiſh that Moſes's law might be reſtored for puniſhment of lechery.——Fear not man, but God. If there be a judgment between a poor man, and a great man, what, muſt there be a corruption of juſtice? Oh! he is a great man, I dare not diſpleaſe him. Fie upon thee! art thou a judge, and wilt be afraid to give right judgment? Fear him not, be he never ſo great a man, but uprightly do true juſtice. Likewiſe ſome paſtors go from their cure: they are afraid of the plague: they dare not come nigh any ſick body; but hire others, and they go away themſelves. Out upon thee: the wolf cometh upon thy flock to devour them; and when they have moſt need of thee, thou runneſt away from them. The ſoldier alſo, that ſhould go to war, will draw back as much as he can. Oh! I ſhall be ſlain! Oh! ſuch and ſuch went, and never came back! ſuch men went into Norfolk, and were ſlain there. But if the king commandeth thee to go, thou art bound to go. Follow thy occupation: in ſerving the king, thou ſhalt ſerve God.

Ye bribers, that go ſecretly about taking bribes, have in your minds, when ye deviſe your ſecret fetches, how Elizeus's ſervant was ſerved, and was openly known. For God's proverb will be true: there is nothing hid, that ſhall not be revealed. He that took the ſilver baſon

and ewer for a bribe, thinketh that it will never come out; but he may now know that I know it; and not only I, but there be many more that know it. It will never be merry in England, till we have the ſkins of ſuch. For what needeth bribing, where men do their buſineſs uprightly. I have to lay out for the king three thouſand pounds: well, when I have laid it out, and bring in mine account, I muſt give three hundred marks to have my bills warranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what need I give a penny to have my bills warranted? If I do bring in a true account, wherefore ſhould one groat be given? Smell ye nothing in this? What need any bribes be given, except the bills be falſe? —Well, ſuch practice hath been in England; but beware, it will out one day —And here now I would ſpeak to you, my maſters minters, augmentationers, receivers, ſurveyors, and auditors: ye are known well enough what ye were afore ye came to your offices, and what lands ye had then, and what ye have purchaſed ſince, and what buildings ye make daily. Well: I doubt not but there be ſome good officers among you, but I will not ſwear for all.—And for the love of God, let poor workmen be paid. They make their moan, that they can get no money. The poor labourers, gun-makers, powder-men, bow-makers, arrow-makers, ſmiths, carpenters, and other crafts cry for their wages. They be unpaid, ſome of them, three or four months, ſome of them half a year, yea, ſome of them put up bills this time twelve month for their money, and cannot be paid yet.—The firſt lent I preached here, I preached of reſtitution: Reſtitution, quoth ſome, what ſhould he

preach

preach of reſtitution? let him preach of contrition, and let reſtitution alone: we can never make reſtitution. Then ſay I, if thou wilt not make reſtitution, thou ſhalt go to the devil. Now chooſe thee either reſtitution, or damnation. There be two kinds of reſtitution, ſecret and open: and whether of the two be uſed, if reſtitution be made, it is well enough. At my firſt preaching of reſtitution, one man took remorſe of conſcience, and acknowledged to me, that he had deceived the king; and was willing to make reſtitution: ſo the firſt lent, twenty pounds came to my hands for the king's uſe. I was promiſed twenty pounds more the ſame lent, but it could not be made up, ſo that it came not. Well, the next lent came three hundred and twenty pounds more: I received it myſelf, and paid it to the king's council. There I was aſked, what he was that had thus made reſtitution? But ſhould I have named him? nay, they ſhould as ſoon have had this weſand of mine. Well; now this lent came one hundred and eighty pounds more, which I have paid this preſent day to the king's council. And ſo this man hath made a goodly reſtitution. If every one who hath beguiled the king (ſaid I to a certain nobleman, who is one of the king's council) ſhould make reſtitution after this ſort, it would cough up the king, I warrant you, twenty thouſand pounds. Yea, quoth the other, a whole hundred thouſand pounds. Alack, alack! make reſtitution; for God's ſake make reſtitution: you will cough in hell elſe, that all the devils will laugh at your coughing. There is no remedy: reſtitution or hell. Now this is of ſecret reſtitution. Some examples have been

been of open reſtitution. I am not afraid to name one: it was maſter Sherington, an honeſt gentleman, and one that God loveth. He openly confeſſed, that he had deceived the king, and made open reſtitution. Oh, what an argument may he have againſt the devil!"

I will conclude theſe extracts, with his own apology for his free ſpeaking. "England, ſays he, cannot abide this geer; it cannot hear God's miniſter, and his threatning againſt ſin. Though the ſermon be never ſo good, and never ſo true, ſtrait, he is a ſeditious fellow, he maketh trouble and rebellion in the realm, he lacketh diſcretion. The Ninevites rebuked not Jonas, that he lacked diſcretion, or that he ſpake out of time. But in England, if God's preacher be any thing quick, or ſpeak ſharply, then he is a fooliſh fellow, and lacketh diſcretion. Now-a-days, if they cannot reprove the doctrine, they will reprove the preacher: what! preach ſuch things now! He ſhould have reſpect to the time, and the ſtate of things. It rejoiceth me, when my friends tell me, that people find fault with my diſcretion: for by likelihood, think I, the doctrine is true: for if they could find fault with the doctrine, they would not charge me with the lack of diſcretion, or the inconveniency of the time. I will aſk you a queſtion: I pray you, when ſhould Jonas have preached againſt the covetouſneſs of Nineveh, if the covetous men ſhould have appointed him his time? I know that preachers ought to have diſcretion in their preaching; and that they ought to have a conſideration, and reſpect to the place and the time, where

where and when they preach: and I ſay here what I would not ſay in the country for no good. But what then? Sin muſt be rebuked: ſin muſt be plainly ſpoken againſt."

Thus far Mr. Latimer: ſuperior to all corruption himſelf, he kept in awe a licentious court. Nor will the reader take offence at my multiplying upon him ſo many large quotations. I not only thought them very valuable remains, but a very neceſſary ornament likewiſe to this part of my hiſtory. For it would have been impoſſible to have given a true idea, in any words but his own, of that noble zeal in the cauſe of truth, which upon all occaſions he exerted, and which makes ſo principal a part of his character. Nor can we wonder at the effect of his preaching, when we conſider its freedom. He charged vice ſo home upon the conſciences of the guilty, that he left no room for ſelf-deceit, or miſapplication: it being a more neceſſary part, in his opinion, of the preacher's office, to rouze men into a ſenſe of their guilt, than to diſcourſe them merely in the didactic ſtrain; inaſmuch as moſt men know more than they practiſe.

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SECTION IX.

WHILE Mr. Latimer was thus diſcharging the duty of a court preacher, a ſlander paſt upon him; which being taken up by a low hiſtorian of thoſe times, hath found its way into theſe. The matter of it is, that, after the lord high admiral's attainder and execution, Mr. Latimer publicly defended his death in a ſermon before the king; that he aſperſed his character; and that he did it merely to pay a ſervile compliment to the protector. The firſt part of the charge is true; but the ſecond, and third are falſe.

As for his aſperſing the admiral's character, his character was ſo bad, there was no room for aſperſion. A more debauched perſon hath rarely infeſted a court, than he was, during the laſt reign. But years growing upon him, and his appetite for pleaſure abating, his paſſions took a new courſe, and from a voluptuous, he became an ambitious man. The pravity of his diſpoſition, however, continued the ſame, though the object of his purſuit was altered. Having married the queen dowager of England, he began to raiſe his expectations to great heights. But enlarging his views ſtill farther as he roſe, and finding his marriage an incumbrance to him, he eaſed himſelf of it, as is generally ſuſpected, by unfair means. This was done to make way for the princeſs

princeſs Elizabeth, to whoſe bed he aſpired; and by her means, to the crown. But being diſappointed of this, he entered into cabals againſt the protector, ſet himſelf at the head of a party, and went ſo far as even to coin money, and raiſe troops; threatning to take the king, and the government out of his brother's hands. For theſe treaſonable actions, and after frequent and fruitleſs admonitions, he was ſentenced to loſe his head: having been proſecuted according to the uſual, but inequitable practice of thoſe times, by a bill in parliament; though there was matter enough to have condemned him in a fairer trial.

But though the lord Sudley paid only ſo due a forfeit to the laws of his country, and had indeed been uſed with much greater tenderneſs, than his offences deſerved; yet his death occaſioned great clamour, and was made uſe of by the lords of the oppoſition (for he left a very diſſatisfied party behind him) as a handle to raiſe a popular odium againſt the protector.

Mr. Latimer had always a high eſteem for the protector: he thought him an honeſt and a good man; and of better intentions towards the public, than any of the lords at that time about the king. He was mortified therefore to ſee ſo invidious and baſe an oppoſition thwarting the ſchemes of ſo much public-ſpirit; and endeavoured to leſſen it by ſhewing the admiral's character in its true light, from ſome anecdotes not commonly known.

Mr.

Mr. Latimer's behaviour, therefore, in this inſtance, may be fairly accounted for: his whole character indeed was contradictory to any ſiniſter practice. What could induce that man to flatter the great, who had voluntarily reſigned one of the higheſt offices in his profeſſion; and which, when voluntarily offered to him again, he had refuſed: a man too, who had taken all opportunities of inveighing againſt the vices of the greateſt perſonages with a freedom, which in the ſtricteſt times would have been admired? So improbable indeed the ſlander is, that I ſhould not have taken the pains I have taken to confute it, if it had not been credited, at leaſt recorded as credible, by ſo great a man as our countryman John Milton; who, being a warm party-writer in the republican times of the Oliverian uſurpation, ſuffers his zeal againſt epiſcopacy, in more inſtances than this, to bias his veracity, or at beſt, to impoſe upon his underſtanding.

But though the protector had thus triumphed over the wicked practices of his brother, he did not long ſurvive him. The oppoſition ſoon revived under another, and a more formidable head, the duke of Northumberland.

This nobleman was the ſon of that infamous Dudley, who, in the days of Henry VII. drew upon himſelf the odium of the nation by the invidious employment he held under that avaricious prince. When Henry VIII. came to the crown, he ſacrificed the father to the reſentment of the people, and raiſed the ſon to be a peer of the realm. But during the reign of this

prince

prince, he never appeared of prime conſideration in the public eye. In king Edward's reign he ſhewed himſelf with diſtinction enough. He was a man of unlicenced pleaſure, and unbounded ambition; more debauched, if poſſible, and more aſpiring than the lord Sudley himſelf; and by far more dangerous; inaſmuch as he was more artful than he, more deep, more ſpecious, and more diſcerning. He was at the ſame time ſo reſolute and daring, that nothing arduous or dangerous ever checked him. In a word, he had more miſchievous deſigns, and better abilities to do miſchief, than any man of his time, excepting only the biſhop of Wincheſter.

This perſon had long viewed the protector with an eye of jealouſy and hatred. He was agitating great ſchemes for the agrandizement of his family; and knew that while the protector lived, he could but little advance them. Reſolving therefore to rid himſelf of this obſtacle, he laid a train with equal malice and dexterity, which in the end effected his deſign. The protector, intangled in his contrivances, loſt his life, and left an open field for the machinations of his enemy.

From this time we meet with no accounts of Mr. Latimer, during the remainder of king Edward's reign. It ſeems moſt probable, that upon this revolution at court, he retired into the country, and made uſe of the king's licence, as a general preacher, in thoſe parts, where he thought his labours might be moſt uſeful: I ſhall, however, for the ſake of connection, ſketch out the intervening

ing hiſtory of thoſe times, till we meet with Mr. Latimer again, in the order of them.

After the protector's death, the duke of Northumberland became all-powerful at court; and ſoon began to execute the wicked projects he had planned. His firſt ſtep was to bring about a marriage between his ſon Guilford Dudley, and the eldeſt daughter of the houſe of Suffolk, a houſe nearly related to the crown.

About the time when this alliance was concluded, the king fell ſick; and his diſtemper increaſing, though the ſymptoms were not yet violent, the duke adviſed the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. Great objections were made to the princeſs Mary, on the account of her religion: and objections were made both to her and her ſiſter, on the account of their illegitimacy. But though they had an act of parliament in their favour; by the duke's management, they were both ſet aſide, and the crown was ſettled upon his daughter-in-law, the lady Jane Grey; who, upon the king's death, which happened ſoon after, was proclaimed queen of England. The world obſerving how aptly the king's death coincided with the duke's deſigns, had little reaſon to doubt of its being a projected part of a regular plan.

Thus far the duke ſucceeded to his wiſh, and found a more general concurrence in the officers of ſtate and judges, than he could have expected. But in the midſt of this tranquility a ſudden ſtorm aroſe.

The

The princeſs Mary, of whom he fatally thought himſelf too ſecure, found adherents in many parts of the nation, moſt of whom nothing but their great averſion to the duke's government, could have drawn to her party. Her power daily increaſing, the duke led an army againſt her. But his efforts were vain. While his forces were continually diminiſhing by revolts, he was thunderſtruck with news from London, that the council had deſerted him, and had proclaimed queen Mary. Thus forſaken of all his friends, like other diſappointed ſchemers, he forſook himſelf; and agonizing for ſome time under the pangs of baffled guilt and ambition, he gave at laſt a temporary eaſe to his diſtracted thoughts, by ſubmitting himſelf to the queen's mercy: and if every ſervile compliance, even to the abjuring the religion he had all his life profeſſed, could have ſaved him, he had been ſaved. But his crimes exceeded forgiveneſs. He was given up therefore to juſtice, and ended his life upon a ſcaffold.

With him fell his new creation, queen Jane, an incomparable lady, endowed with every virtue; unfortunate only in having been made the tool of a practiſed villain.

Queen Mary having thus obtained the crown, began next to think of ſettling her government. Religion was her firſt care. As to her own principles, they were well known; though ſhe had temporized under her father, with a good ſhare of compliance, and had made promiſes too, upon her advancement to the crown, that ſhe would

would introduce no public change in the eſtabliſhed religion. But promiſes of this kind met with eaſy diſpenſations. She reſolved, therefore, as ſoon as ſhe could, to reſtore popery, and reconcile the nation to the ſee of Rome.

Her chief miniſters in this deſign were Stephen Gardiner, now made lord chancellor, and Edmund Bonner, biſhop of London.

The former of theſe perſons hath already been often mentioned in a diſadvantageous light. He was a man, indeed, formed by nature for court intrigues. He had a clear head, quick parts, improved by long practice in the world, and a dark inſcrutable mind, in which he treaſured up every thing that paſſed by him; and laying things together with wonderful ſagacity, formed the deepeſt ſchemes. Theſe he could with great judgment adapt to circumſtances as they aroſe: and what cunning and diſſimulation could not effect, in which he excelled all men of his time, he would complete by a cool, yet dauntleſs reſolution. He was naturally fierce and cruel; and this temper was inflamed by the uſage he had met with, which was indeed but indifferent, under king Edward: ſo that he bent himſelf to perſecution in the full ſpirit of retaliation.

The biſhop of London had formerly maintained an intereſt with Henry VIII. by means of the loweſt adulation, to which that prince was very open: and though he went along with the innovations of that reign, yet when

when queen Mary began to look among her friends, his ſufferings under king Edward were accepted as an atonement. Hitherto he had acted in diſguiſe; but finding himſelf now free from reſtraint, the whole man appeared. And ſure the genius of popery had never a more proper ſubject to work on. He was a man of violent paſſions, and thoſe chiefly of a ſanguinary kind: of little obſervation and knowledge, and without any judgment; as if juſt prepared for the infuſions of blind zeal and bigotry.

Theſe were the perſons, from whoſe counſels, (upon the preſent revolution of government) the ſettlement of religion was expected. Bonner was indeed little more than an agent in the hands of Gardiner, who on many occaſions choſe rather to ſit concealed, and act by proxy. It ſuited the darkneſs of his diſpoſition; and he found in Bonner an inſtrument intirely adapted to his purpoſe; open ears, an impetuous temper, raging zeal, a hardened heart, and an obſtinate perſeverance: ſo that Gardiner had only to wind him up occaſionally, and give him a proper direction; and the zealot moved with the regularity of a machine, and with what impetuoſity his director impreſſed.

The introduction of popery being thus reſolved on, the firſt ſtep which was taken was to prohibit all preaching throughout the kingdom; and to licence only ſuch as were known to be popiſhly inclined.

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The queen's deſigns being now every where apparent, the reformed clergy preſently took the alarm. They ſaw their pariſhes about to be corrupted by Romiſh preachers, who ſpread themſelves over the nation in great numbers; and thinking in the primitive manner, that it was right to obey God rather than man, they reſolved to endure the worſt for the ſake of their religion. Many of them, therefore, preached with great freedom, in their accuſtomed manner, againſt the doctrines of popery. And, to ſet them an example, archbiſhop Cranmer drew up a very free paper, by way of proteſtation againſt the maſs; which got abroad before he publiſhed it. Upon being queſtioned about it by the council, he boldly anſwered, "The paper was his, and he was only ſorry, that he had not fixed it, as he intended, with his hand and ſeal, upon St. Paul's gate." Moſt men wondered that he was ſuffered to eſcape; but it was thought more prudent to begin with the inferior clergy. Accordingly, a ſtrict inquiry was made after the more forward and popular preachers; and many of them were taken into cuſtody: ſome without any cauſe alledged; particularly Rogers and Bradford, who had uſed their popularity in no inſtance, ſince the late change of government, but in reſcuing a popiſh prieſt from an inraged multitude. After theſe, others of more diſtinction were impriſoned; and in a little time the archbiſhop himſelf.

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SECTION X.

WHILE this ſevere inquiry was carrying on in London, Mr. Latimer was in the country, where he continued preaching in his uſual manner, unaffected by the danger of the times. But he did not long enjoy this liberty. The biſhop of Wincheſter, who had proſcribed him with the firſt, ſent a meſſenger to cite him before the council. He had notice of this deſign ſome hours before the meſſenger's arrival: but he made no uſe of the intelligence. Like other eminent reformers of that time, he choſe rather to meet, than to avoid a queſtion; thinking that he could not give a nobler teſtimony to the uprightneſs of his conſcience; than by ſhewing the world it was a ſufficient ſecurity to him in whatever dangers it might involve him.

The meſſenger therefore found him equipped for his journey: at which, expreſſing his ſurprize, Mr. Latimer told him, "That he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called on to anſwer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life: and that he doubted not but that God, who had already enabled him to ſtand before two princes, would enable him to ſtand before a third." The meſſenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to ſeize his perſon, delivered a letter, and departed. From this it is plain, that

the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other Lords of the council, choſe rather to drive him out of the kingdom, than to bring him to any public queſtion. They well knew the firmneſs of his mind; and were afraid, as Mr. Fox obſerves, "leſt his conſtancy ſhould deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth."

Mr. Latimer, however, opening the letter, and finding it to contain a citation from the council, reſolved to obey it. He ſet out, therefore, immediately for London. As he paſſed through Smithfield, where heretics were uſually burnt, he ſaid chearfully, "This place hath long groaned for me." The next morning he waited on the council; who having loaded him with many ſevere reproaches, ſent him to the tower.

This was but a repetition of a former part of his life: only he now met with harſher treatment, and had more frequent occaſion to exerciſe his reſignation; of which virtue no man poſſeſſed a larger meaſure. Nay, even the uſual chearfulneſs of his diſpoſition did not now forſake him; of which we have one inſtance ſtill remaining.

A ſervant leaving his apartment, Mr. Latimer called after him, and bad him tell his maſter, "That unleſs he took better care of him, he would certainly eſcape him." Upon this meſſage, the lieutenant, with ſome diſcompoſure in his countenance, came to Mr. Latimer, and deſired an explanation of what he had ſaid to his ſervant.

ſervant. "Why, you expect, I ſuppoſe, Sir, replied Mr. Latimer, that I ſhall be burned; but if you do not allow me a little fire, this froſty weather, I can tell you, I ſhall firſt be ſtarved."

In the mean time the biſhop of Wincheſter, and his friends held frequent councils on public affairs; and wiſhed to make it believed, that reaſon as well as power was on their ſide. With this view it was reſolved, that when the convocation met, the argument between the papiſts and proteſtants ſhould be handled. But Gardiner was a better politician, than to commit a matter of ſuch conſequence to a fair debate. He had provided for the ſucceſs, therefore, by modelling a convocation to his mind; in which only ſix proteſtant divines got admittance. By this junto, points of divinity and articles of faith were ſettled.

The proteſtants, as they very well might, were loud in their clamour againſt ſuch manifeſt partiality; and made ſo fair a repreſentation of the diſingenuous treatment they had received, that Gardiner, fearing his cauſe rather injured, than promoted by what he had done, reſolved to do ſomething in the ſame way leſs liable to exception. Soon after, it was given out, that the controverſy between the papiſts and proteſtants ſhould be finally determined in a ſolemn diſputation to be held at Oxford, between the moſt eminent divines on each ſide. And ſo far the papiſts acted honeſtly: for Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who were confeſſedly the moſt eminent divines of their party, were appointed to ma-

nage the diſpute on the part of the proteſtant. Accordingly, they were taken out of the tower, where they had all been impriſoned, and were ſent to Oxford.

Of theſe three, Ridley was generally eſteemed the moſt eminent for parts and learning; as indeed he was ſuperior in theſe points to moſt men of the age in which he lived. He poſſeſſed likewiſe, in a great degree, all thoſe valuable qualities, which make a man amiable in ſociety. Through Cranmer's recommendation, in king Edward's time, he had been promoted to the biſhopric of London; over which he preſided with that exemplary luſtre, which piety and virtue add to eminence of ſtation. In the beginning of queen Mary, he was involved with the firſt in the troubles of the times, which no man endured with greater conſtancy.

The proteſtant diſputants being thus appointed, proper perſons were next thought on to oppoſe them. At length it was determined to aſſign this office to Dr. Weſton, prolocutor of the convocation, and an aſſembly of divines choſen out of both univerſities. Letters therefore were diſpatched to Oxford, to put all things in readineſs; and ſoon after to Cambridge, where commiſſioners were immediately appointed.

In the mean time Mr. Latimer, and his companions were cloſely confined at Oxford, in the common priſon; deprived of every comfort, but what their own breaſts could adminiſter. How free the diſputation was likely to be, they might eaſily imagine, when they found

found themſelves denied the uſe even of books, and pen and ink. Their priſon-hours, however, were not ſpent in vain lamentations: their religion raiſed them above all human ſufferings, and all mortal fears.

Their chief reſource was in prayer, in which exerciſe they ſpent great part of every day. Mr. Latimer particularly, would often continue kneeling, till he was not able to riſe without help. The principal ſubject of his prayers was, that God would enable him to maintain the profeſſion of his religion to the laſt; that God would again reſtore his goſpel to England, and preſerve the princeſs Elizabeth to be a comfort to this land.

Mr. Fox has preſerved a conference, afterwards put into writing, which was held at this time between biſhop Ridley, and biſhop Latimer. As it is worth the reader's notice, and may without any great interruption be inſerted in this place, I ſhall take ſuch paſſages from it, as I ſhall think worth preſerving.

The two biſhops are repreſented ſitting in their priſon, ruminating upon the ſolemn preparations then making for their trial, of which probably they were now firſt informed. Biſhop Ridley firſt broke ſilence. "The time, ſaid he, is now come: we are now called upon either to deny our faith, or to ſuffer death in its defence. You, Mr. Latimer, are an old ſoldier of Chriſt, and have frequently withſtood the fear of death; whereas I am raw in the ſervice, and unexperienced."

With

With this preface he introduces a requeſt, that Mr. Latimer, whom he calls his father, would hear him propoſe ſuch arguments as he thinks it moſt likely his adverſaries would urge againſt him, and aſſiſt him in providing himſelf with proper anſwers to them. To this Mr. Latimer, in his uſual ſtrain of good humour, anſwered, that "He fancied the good biſhop was treating him, as he remembered Mr. Bilney uſed formerly to do, who, when he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of being taught himſelf. But in the preſent caſe, ſays he, my lord, I am determined for myſelf to give them very little trouble. I ſhall juſt offer them a plain account of my faith, and ſhall ſay very little more: for I know any thing more will be to no purpoſe. They talk of a free diſputation; but I am well aſſured, their grand argument will be, as it was once their forefathers, "We have a law, and by our law ye ought to die." However, upon Mr. Ridley's preſſing his requeſt, they entered upon the examination he deſired.

This part of their conference contains little of curious; only the common arguments againſt the tenets of popery. When they had finiſhed this exerciſe, Ridley breaks out in this pathetic ſtrain.

"Thus you ſee, good father, how I would prepare myſelf for my adverſary; and how I would learn by practice to be expert in thoſe weapons, which I ſhall preſently be obliged to wield. In Tine-dale, upon the borders

borders of Scotland, the place of my nativity, I have known my countrymen watch night and day in arms; eſpecially when they had notice of any intended inroad from the Scots. And though by ſuch bravery many of them loſt their lives, yet they defended their country, died in a good cauſe, and intailed the love of the neighbourhood upon their poſterity. And ſhall not we watch in the cauſe of Chriſt, and in the defence of our religion, whereon depend all our hopes of immortality? Shall we not go always armed? ever ready to receive a watchful foe? Let us then awake; and taking the croſs upon our ſhoulders, let us follow our captain Chriſt, who by his own blood hath hallowed the way that leadeth to God.—Thus, good father, I have opened my heart freely unto you. And now, methinks, I ſee you juſt about to lift up your eyes to heaven, in your accuſtomed manner, and turning your prophetical countenance upon me, thus to ſpeak: "Truſt not, my ſon, (I pray you vouchſafe me the honour of this name, for in it I ſhall think myſelf both honoured by you and loved) truſt not, I ſay, my ſon, to theſe word weapons, but remember what our Lord ſays, "It ſhall be given you in that ſame hour what you ſhall ſpeak." Pray for me, O father, pray for me, that I may throw my whole care upon God; and may truſt in him only in my diſtreſſes."

"Of my prayers, replied the old biſhop, you may be well aſſured: nor do I doubt but I ſhall have yours in return. And indeed, prayer and patience ſhould be our great reſources. For myſelf, had I the learning of St.

St. Paul, I ſhould think it ill laid out upon an elaborate defence. Yet our caſe, my lord, admits of comfort. Our enemies can do no more than God permits; and God is faithful; who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength. Be at a point with them: ſtand to that, and let them ſay and do what they pleaſe. To uſe many words would be vain: yet it is requiſite to give a reaſonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you. For other things, in a wicked judgment-hall, a man may keep ſilence after the example of Chriſt. As for their ſophiſtry, you know falſehood may often be diſplayed in the colours of truth. But above all things, be upon your guard againſt the fear of death. This is the great argument you muſt oppoſe.—Poor Shaxton! it is to be feared this argument had the greateſt weight in his recantation. But let us be ſtedfaſt and unmoveable; aſſuring ourſelves, that we cannot be more happy, than by being ſuch Philippians, as not only believe in Chriſt, but dare ſuffer for his ſake."—With ſuch noble fortitude, and ſuch exalted ſentiments were theſe two great reformers of religion inſpired!

But we muſt now leave them in their priſon, and introduce a ſcene of a different kind.

SECT.

SECTION XI.

WE left the Cambridge commiſſioners ſetting out for Oxford, where they arrived in great pomp on the 13th of April, 1554. Here they were received with a profuſion of academical compliments; conferring of degrees, ſpeeches, feaſts, and proceſſions. Forms were next adjuſted, and a method in their proceedings agreed on by the commiſſioners.

In this commiſſion were joined thirty-three perſons. To run over a catalogue of their names would be needleſs; as the greater part of them were men of no note. It is no breach of charity to ſay, they were only diſtinguiſhed from each other by different degrees of bigotry and ignorance.

Some among them were of more conſequence; Weſton, Smith, Treſham, and Chedſey.

Weſton was a man of conſiderable learning, which gave him great reputation with his party. In all points of divinity, his judgment was eſteemed deciſive; and none was thought more worthy to preſide over the convocation. His religion, however, was only in his head: it made no impreſſion upon his heart. Yet he maintained a decent outſide; and had the addreſs to paſs off in the world a great ſhare of ſpiritual pride for ſanctity

ſanctity of manners: till having at length the misfortune to be taken in adultery, he was generally known. He was at this time, however, in the meridian of his credit.

Smith was a mere temporizer, and had all his life taken his creed from the eſtabliſhment. He had been bred a papiſt, and had written with ſome credit againſt prieſt's marriage. But when proteſtantiſm took the lead, he got himſelf recommended, through Cranmer's means, to the reigning powers; and to eſtabliſh himſelf the better, promiſed to confute his own book. But before his treatiſe was finiſhed, the times changed; and his faith changing with them, he was again taken notice of by the heads of the prevailing religion; his pen recommending him, which was eaſy and elegant; while the ſtory of his having agreed to confute his own book, which was indeed a fact, was imputed only to the malice of the adverſe party.

Treſham was an orthodox divine; but one of thoſe heavy mortals, who have great learning and no ſenſe. He was a bigot in the laſt degree. But the following ſtory will give a juſt idea of his character. When queen Mary began to think of reſtoring the old religion at Oxford, Dr. Treſham, then ſub-dean of Chriſt-church, was among thoſe, who were truſted by her in this buſineſs. Calling together, therefore, the members of his college, he recommended popery to them in a ſet oration: and having talked over all the common-place arguments with ſufficient prolixity, he emphatically concluded with telling

telling them, "That a parcel of very fine copes had been made to go to Windſor; but that the queen had been ſo gracious as to ſend them to Chriſt-church; and that if they would go to maſs, they ſhould each have one: that upon that condition, he would, moreover, procure for them the lady-bell at Bampton, which would make Chriſt-church bells the ſweeteſt of any in England: and that laſtly, he would give them as fine a water-ſprinkle, as eyes ever beheld."

But among them all, Chedſey was by far the moſt conſiderable. He was indeed a very able man. For parts and learning, few of his time went beyond him. But he too had a ductile faith, which had been wholly guided by that of his ſuperiors. He made atonement, however, for his temporiſing under king Edward, by his zeal in perſecuting under queen Mary.

Theſe perſons, having now received all the civilities, which the zeal of Oxford could expreſs, and having ſettled all previous punctilios, proceeded to buſineſs. Arraying themſelves therefore in ſcarlet, they met at St. Mary's church; where ſeating themſelves before the altar, and placing the prolocutor in the midſt, they ſent for the priſoners.

The croud ſoon made way for Archbiſhop Cranmer, who was brought in by a guard of armed men. When the tumult was a little compoſed, the prolocutor made a ſhort oration to his audience in praiſe of religious unity; and then turning to the archbiſhop, he reminded him of the pious education he had received in an orthodox ſe-

minary;

minary; of the eminent ſtation he had held under a catholic king, and of his long attachment to popery. He then ſpoke with an affected concern of his ſhameful apoſtacy; and of the ſeveral errors, which had crept into the church, while he preſided over it. Laſtly, he acquainted him with the deſign of their preſent meeting; informing him, that the convocation, by her majeſty's order, taking into conſideration his apoſtacy, and that of his brethren, had commiſſioned them to endeavour to bring them back to their mother church; that for this end certain articles had been drawn up, which the convocation had ſigned, and which it was expected, that he too, and his brethren, would either ſubſcribe or confute.

The prolocutor then ordered the articles to be read aloud, which were theſe.

"The natural body of Chriſt is really in the ſacrament after the words ſpoken by the prieſt.

In the ſacrament, after the words of conſecration, no other ſubſtance does remain, than the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt.

In the maſs is a ſacrifice propitiatory for the ſins of the quick and dead."

The articles being read, the archbiſhop, deſiring leave, read them over to himſelf three or four times; and then aſking a few pertinent queſtions with regard to the

the import of ſome of the terms, with ſome earneſtneſs denied them all. "I am as great a friend, ſaid he, gentlemen, to unity, as any of you; but I can never think of making falſehood the bond of peace." The prolocutor, making no reply, ordered a copy of the articles to be delivered to him; and fixed a day, on which he told him he expected, he would publicly maintain his negative.

Dr. Ridley was next brought in, who, without any heſitation, denied the articles. Upon which the prolocutor appoined him likewiſe a diſputation-day, and diſmiſſed him.

Biſhop Latimer was brought in laſt, like a primitive martyr, in his priſon attire. He had a cap upon his head, buttoned under his chin, a pair of ſpectacles hanging at his breaſt, a new Teſtament under his arm, and a ſtaff in his hand. He was almoſt ſpent with preſſing through the croud; and the prolocutor ordering a chair to be brought for him, he walked up to it, and ſaying, he was a very old man, ſat down without any ceremony. The articles were then tendered to him; which he denied. The prolocutor, upon this, telling him, that he muſt diſpute on the wedneſday following; the old biſhop, with as much chearfulneſs, as he would have ſhewn upon the moſt ordinary occaſion, ſhaking his palſied head, anſwered, ſmiling, "Indeed, gentlemen, I am juſt as well qualified to be made governor of Calais." He then complained, that he was very old, and very infirm; and ſaid, that he had the uſe of no book

book but of that under his arm; which he had read ſeven times over deliberately, without finding the leaſt mention made of the maſs. In this ſpeech he gave great offence, by ſaying, in his humorous way, alluding to tranſubſtantiation, that he could find neither the marrowbones, nor the ſinews of the maſs in the New Teſtament. Upon which, the prolocutor cried out with ſome warmth, that he would make him find both: and when Mr. Latimer, recollecting himſelf, was going to explain his meaning in that expreſſion, he was not ſuffered to ſpeak.

Thus the aſſembly broke up; having obſerved, upon the whole, more decency and good-manners, than was generally expected.

At length, the appointed day came for the archbiſhop's diſputation. A ſtranger might have known ſomething very uncommon was in agitation; for the whole univerſity was in motion. Almoſt at day-break the ſchools were thronged. About eight, the commiſſioners took their ſeats; and preſently afterwards, the archbiſhop was brought in guarded.

But I will not delay the reader with the particulars of this day; nor of that, on which biſhop Ridley diſputed. I ſhall only ſay in general, for the ſake of truth, that the papiſts do not ſeem to have had juſtice done them by their proteſtant adverſaries. Let theſe put what gloſs upon the affair they pleaſe, the papiſts certainly had the better of the argument on both thoſe days.

days. The caſe was this, they drew their chief proofs, in favour of tranſubſtantiation, from the fathers; many of whom, and ſome of the more eſteemed writers among them, ſpeak on this ſubject in a language by no means evangelical. The two biſhops accordingly being thus preſſed by an authority, which they durſt not reject, were not a little embarraſſed. And indeed, how could a proteſtant divine defend ſuch a paſſage as this from St. Chryſoſtom? "What a miracle is this! He who ſits above with the Father, at the very ſame inſtant of time is handled with the hands of men?" or ſuch a paſſage as this from the ſame writer, "That which is in the cup, is the ſame which flowed from the ſide of Chriſt?" or this from Theophilact, "Becauſe we would abhor the eating of raw fleſh, and eſpecially human fleſh, therefore, it appeareth as bread, though it is indeed fleſh?" or this from St. Auſtin, "Chriſt was carried in his own hands, when he ſaid, this is my body?" or this from Juſtin Martyr, "We are taught, that when this nouriſhing food is conſecrated, it becomes the fleſh and blood of Chriſt?" or this from St. Ambroſe, "It is bread before it is conſecrated, but when that ceremony hath paſſed upon it, of bread it becomes the fleſh of Chriſt?" Of all theſe paſſages, and many others of the ſame kind, the papiſts, with not a little dexterity, made their avail. The two biſhops, in the mean time, inſtead of diſavowing an inſufficient authority, weakly defended a good cauſe; evading, and diſtinguiſhing, after the manner of ſchoolmen. Ridley's defence indeed was very animated: for he had great quickneſs of parts as well as learning. Cranmer's was

no

no way extraordinary: through his great modeſty, he ſeems to have been over-awed by his audience. And yet Ridley would have acted as wiſe a part, if he had taken his friend biſhop Latimer's advice, and contented himſelf with giving a reaſonable account of his faith. I ſhall only add, that theſe diſputations were very tumultuous, and accompanied with great indecency both of language and behaviour on the part of the papiſt.

The day after the biſhop of London diſputed, biſhop Latimer was called into the ſchools. Of this day I ſhall be more particular.

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SECTION XII.

THE commiſſioners being now ſeated, the audience formed, and the tumult of a croud in ſome degree ſubſided, Dr. Weſton, the prolocutor, riſing up, acquainted his hearers, that the cauſe of their meeting was to defend the orthodox doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; and to confute certain novel opinions, which had been lately propagated with great zeal in the nation! "And of you, father, ſaid he, turning to the old biſhop, I beg, if you have any thing to ſay, that you will be as conciſe as poſſible." This was ſpoken in Latin; upon which the biſhop anſwered; "I hope, Sir, you will give me leave to ſpeak what I have to ſpeak in Engliſh: I have been very little converſant in the Latin tongue theſe twenty years!" The prolocutor conſented; and the biſhop, having thanked him, replied; "I will juſt beg leave then, Sir, to proteſt my faith. Indeed, I am not able to diſpute. I will proteſt my faith; and you may then do with me juſt what you pleaſe."

Upon this he took a paper out of his pocket, and began to read his proteſtation. But he had not proceeded many minutes, when a murmur roſe on every hand, increaſing by degrees into a clamour; which the prolocutor was ſo far from checking, that in a very indecent manner he patronized it, calling out, with ſome

circumſtances of rudeneſs, upon the biſhop to deſiſt.—The old man, ſurpriſed with this ſudden tumult of ill-manners, pauſed in admiration at it: but preſently recovering himſelf, he turned to the prolocutor, and ſaid, with ſome vehemence; "In my time I have ſpoken before two kings, and have been heard for ſome hours together, without interruption: here I cannot be permitted one quarter of an hour.—Dr. Weſton, I have frequently heard of you before: but I think I never ſaw you till now. I perceive you have great wit, and great learning: God grant you may make a right uſe of theſe gifts!" Other things he ſaid; but theſe are the principal. His ſpeech had its effect. The prolocutor took his paper, and ſaid, he would read it himſelf. But whether he could not read it, or would not, he preſently laid it down, and called out to the biſhop, "Since you refuſe to diſpute, will you then ſubſcribe? Upon his anſwering in the negative, Weſton artfully led him by a train of familiar queſtions into an argument; and when he thought he had raiſed him to a proper pitch, he gave a ſign to Dr. Smith the opponent, to begin: who being prepared, immediately roſe up, and in a pompous manner, prefacing the diſputation, gave out the queſtion. When he had done, the old biſhop gravely anſwered, "I am ſorry, Sir, that this worſhipful audience muſt be diſappointed in their expectation.—I have already ſpoken my mind."

The prolocutor obſerving this, began again in his artful manner to draw Mr. Latimer into an argument. Pray, ſaid he, Sir, how long have you been in priſon?

—About

—About nine months, Sir.—But I was impriſoned, ſaid Weſton, ſix years.—I am heartily ſorry for it, Sir. —I think you were once, Mr. Latimer, of our way of thinking.—I was, Sir.—I have heard too, that you have ſaid maſs in your time?—I have, Sir.—He then aſked him, why he altered his opinion; and thus by degrees, led him to anſwer the chief arguments brought from ſcripture in favour of tranſubſtantiation. They then began to ply him with the fathers: and firſt, a paſſage from Hillary was quoted. As he was about to anſwer, one of the commiſſioners called out to him, (on account of the populace moſt probably) "Mr. Latimer, ſpeak in Latin, ſpeak in Latin, I know you can do it, if you pleaſe." But the biſhop ſaying he had the prolocutor's leave, went on in Engliſh, and told them, that, "As for the paſſage from Hillary, which they had quoted, he really could not ſee that it made much for them; but he would anſwer them by another quotation from Melancthon, who ſays, that if the fathers had foreſeen how much weight their authority was to have in this controverſy, they would have written with more caution.

But the opponent not being ſatisfied with this, begs leave to reduce the words of Hillary into a ſyllogiſtic argument, and begins thus: "Such as is the unity of our fleſh with Chriſt's fleſh, ſuch, nay greater, is the unity of Chriſt with the Father.—But the unity of Chriſt's fleſh with our fleſh, is true and ſubſtantial.—Therefore, the unity of Chriſt with the Father, is true and ſubſtantial.—Here he pauſed, expecting that the

biſhop would deny his major or his minor, as the logicians ſpeak. But inſtead of that, he anſwered gravely, "You may go on, Sir, if you pleaſe; but, upon my word, I do not underſtand you."

The jargon of this learned doctor being ſilenced, others attacked him, but with equal ſucceſs. He anſwered their queſtions, as far as civility required, but none of them could engage him in any formal diſputation. And when proofs from the fathers were multiplied upon him, he at length told them plainly, "That ſuch proofs had no weight with him: that the fathers, no doubt were often deceived; and that he never depended upon them, but when they depended upon ſcripture." "Then you are not of St. Chryſoſtom's faith, replied his antagoniſt, nor of St. Auſtin's?" "I have told you, ſaid Mr. Latimer, I am not, except when they bring ſcripture for what they ſay."

Little more was ſaid, when the prolocutor finding it was impoſſible to urge him into a controverſy, roſe up, and diſſolved the aſſembly, crying out to the populace, "Here you all ſee the weakneſs of hereſy againſt the truth: here is a man who, adhering to his errors, hath given up the goſpel, and rejected the fathers." The old biſhop made no reply; but wrapping his gown about him, and taking up his New Teſtament and his ſtaff, walked out as unconcerned, as he came in.

Thus he maintained to the laſt his reſolution of not diſputing; a reſolution which he had not haſtily taken.

Mr.

Mr. Addiſon (in his 465th ſpectator) greatly admires his behaviour on this occaſion, though he does not aſſign it to its true cauſe. "This venerable old man, ſays he, knowing how his abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impoſſible for him to recollect all thoſe reaſons, which had directed him in the choice of his religion, left his companions, who were in the full poſſeſſion of their parts and learning, to baffle and confound their antagoniſts by the force of reaſon. As for himſelf, he only repeated to his adverſaries the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profeſſion of which he was determined to die."—The truth is, he knew it would anſwer no end to be more explicit.

Theſe ſolemn diſputations being thus at an end, nothing now remained but to paſs ſentence. On the friday following, therefore, the commiſſioners, ſeated in their accuſtomed form, ſent for the three biſhops to St. Mary's church: where, after ſome affected exhortations to recant, the prolocutor firſt excommunicated, and then condemned them. As ſoon as the ſentence was read, biſhop Latimer lifting up his eyes, cried out, "I thank God moſt heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end!" To which the prolocutor replied, "If you go to heaven in this faith, I am thoroughly perſuaded I ſhall never get there."

The next day a grand proceſſion was made, in which the hoſt, by way of triumph, was carried in ſtate, under a canopy.

Theſe

These eminent persons, being thus convicted of heresy, and delivered over to the secular arm, various were the opinions of men concerning them. Some thought the queen was inclined to mercy; and it was confidently reported, that the three bishops would be removed indeed from interfering publicly with religion; but that, very liberally pensioned, they should in other respects have no cause to complain: while some again as positively affirmed, their measure would be very hard; as the queen, it was well known, would never forgive the hand they had had in her mother's divorce, and in the separation from the church of Rome. But these were only the popular conjectures of the time, none of them founded on truth: for the counsels, which determined the fates of these great men, had not yet taken birth.

SECTION XIII.

QUEEN Mary, how zealous ſoever in the cauſe of popery, was not yet at leiſure to attend the ſettlement of it. She had in general ſchemed it; but had laid out no meaſures. Civil affairs were at this time more her concern than eccleſiaſtical. The tower was full of ſtate priſoners, yet undiſpoſed of: her title to the crown was not yet confirmed: nor her cabinet formed: a dangerous inſurrection had been moved in Eſſex; and a ſeditious ſpirit was ſtill at work in many parts of the nation, particularly in the capital, diſcovering itſelf in riots and loud murmurs. To theſe things the queen's marriage ſucceeded, as another obſtacle to the immediate ſettlement of religion.

At length, however, an area was cleared for the ſcene of blood about to be exhibited; and from this time, to the concluſion of the queen's reign, the eſtabliſhment of popery was the ſingle point in view; every national concern, in the mean time, both at home and abroad, being either made ſubſervient to it, or neglected.

The firſt effort of the miniſtry was to gain a parliamentary concurrence. King Edward's laws againſt popery were ſtill in force, and the nation of courſe in a ſtate

ſtate of ſeparation from Rome. But in thoſe days, when prerogative ran high, the parliament was little more than an echo to the cabinet. The queen, therefore, found it an eaſy matter to arm herſelf with what powers ſhe wanted. One act cancelled a whole reign; the ſtatutes againſt hereſy were revived; and England was again prepared for the popiſh yoke.

An account of theſe happy events was preſently diſpatched to Rome, where it created the face of a jubilee. The pope laid aſide his long-conceived diſpleaſure; accepted the penitent nation; and eaſily conſented to ſend over cardinal Pool into England, to make up the breach, in quality of his legate.

Cardinal Pool, of the blood royal of England, was, as much known in the world as any churchman of his time; and as generally eſteemed. He might have been at the head of the reformation under Henry VIII; but he choſe rather to court the favours of the pope; with whom to ingratiate himſelf, he treated Henry, then beginning to innovate, in a manner, which drew upon him a bill of attainder. But as Rome was the ſituation he choſe, his exile was the leſs grievous. Here his influence was ſo great, that he aſpired to the papacy: and he might have carried his point, if his honeſty had permitted him to have engaged thoroughly in the intrigues of the conclave. This diſappointment awaked his philoſophy, and he retired from the world into a monaſtery of Benedictines near Verona. Here he was contemplating the vanity of all earthly things, when he received a gracious

ous letter from the queen of England, preſſing his return to his native country, with all aſſurances of favour. Immediately his eyes were opened; and he found that, inſtead of ſound philoſophy, he had been indulging only a reverie of melancholy. As ſoon as poſſible, therefore, he ſet out for England; where he was received in great form, and placed at the head of eccleſiaſtical affairs. And, to do him juſtice, he became his ſtation. He was a great and a good man; moderate in his opinions, and prudent in his behaviour; and would certainly have prevented thoſe reproaches on his religion, which this reign occaſioned, had his reſolution been equal to his judgment, and the goodneſs of his heart.

The parliament having, with all obſequiouſneſs, done beyond what was expected towards the introduction of popery, and being now no longer wanted, was diſſolved, about the beginning of the year 1555.

The cardinal immediately began to act. Calling a council therefore of biſhops, he propoſed to their conſideration the ſettlement of religion. And when many things had been ſaid on that ſubject, and ſome things agreed on, they fell next ont he treatment of heretics. "For my own part, ſaid the cardinal, I think we ſhould be content with the public reſtoration of religion; and inſtead of irritating our adverſaries by a rigorous execution of the revived ſtatutes, I could wiſh that every biſhop in his dioceſe would try the more winning expedients of gentleneſs and perſuaſion." He then urged the example of the emperor Charles V. who, by a

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ſevere perſecution of the Lutherans, involved himſelf in many difficulties, and purchaſed nothing but diſhonour.

To this the biſhop of Wincheſter anſwered, "That, in his opinion, it was the ſame thing not to have a law, and not to execute one: that ſome blood muſt be ſhed: that he was not an advocate for a general maſſacre: to ſhake the leaves, he ſaid, was of little avail; he would have the ax laid to the root of the tree: the biſhops, and moſt forward preachers, ought certainly to die: the reſt were of no conſequence."

He had ſcarce ſat down, when the biſhop of London, who always took his temper from Wincheſter, ſtarting up, vehemently proſecuted the ſame ſubject, and having ſaid many things with great fierceneſs of language, concluded, with freely offering himſelf to be the miniſter of the ſevereſt meaſures they could propoſe. "I cannot, ſaid he, my lords, act canonically any where, but in my own dioceſe; and there I ſhall deſire no man's help or countenance. And for thoſe who are not in my juriſdiction, let them only be ſent up to me, and lodged in any of my priſons, and when I have got them there, God do ſo to Bonner, and more alſo, if one of them eſcape me."

Others ſpoke in the council, but all in the ſame violent ſtrain. The reſult was, a commiſſion was iſſued out by the cardinal, impowering Wincheſter, London, and other biſhops, to try and examine heretics, agreeably to the laws which were now revived.

Then

Then followed times unparalleled in Engliſh ſtory; when all ſober men beheld with horror furious bigots dragging away with horrid zeal men, women, and children, guilty of no civil offence, by companies together, and delivering them up to torturcs, and cruel death; when they ſaw a religion breathing peace and charity, propagated by ſuch acts of blood, as would have diſgraced even the rites of an heathen Moloc. The whole nation ſtood aghaſt. Fear and diſtruſt, and jealouſy were ſpread through every part; and forced men into retirements, where they mourned in ſecret a parent, a brother, a ſon, the hopes of their family, ſingled out for their conſpicuous piety.—Happy were they, who, eſcaping the inquiſition of thoſe times, fled naked and deſtitute into foreign countries, where they found a retreat even in exile.

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SECTION XI.

THE rage of this perſecution had now continued, yet unabated, near three quarters of a year. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the two biſhops, Ridley and Latimer, were ſtill in priſon, unmoleſted: and they who were acquainted with the biſhop of Wincheſter's maxims, and knew that he had the direction of affairs, were ſurpriſed at this lenity, and at a loſs for the reaſon of it.

In anſwer to this popular inquiry, it was given out, "That an overſight had been committed in condemning theſe biſhops, before the ſtatutes, on which they were condemned, had been revived: that a commiſſion therefore from Rome was neceſſary for a new trial: that this had been ſent for; but the delays of that court muſt be born with." And, in part, this was fact; for they had indeed been too haſty in condemning the three biſhops. However, afterwards, the whole truth appeared, when it was found that theſe delays, which had been charged upok the court of Rome, were really occaſioned by the biſhop of Wincheſter himſelf.

It was the ſecret grief of that ambitious prelate, that there was one ſtill higher than himſelf, in eccleſiaſtical affairs. The cardinal's hat on the head of Pool, and the

the popes's authority, had long been the objects of his envy. With all his ſubtilty and addreſs, therefore, he was now ſecretly working the cardinal's ruin. He had his agents in Rome, who were throwing out hints in the conclave, that the biſhop of Wincheſter wanted an aſſociate of equal ſpirit with himſelf; that the legate was not hearty in the buſineſs; and that his lenity to the proteſtants only too much ſhewed his inclination towards them.

The circumſtances of the time likewiſe favoured Gardiner's ambition. For he knew, that cardinal Carraffa, who had juſt obtained the pontificate, had no friendſhip for Pool, with whom formerly he had ſharp diſputes. The deſigning prelate, therefore, was in great hopes, that his ſcheme would take effect; and when Pool was removed, he made no doubt but he had intereſt to ſucceed him.

But this was only an under part in his ſcheme. He knew, and was diſtreſſed in knowing, that the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, upon the death of Cranmer, was intended for the legate. This dignity his heart was ſet on, of which he made himſelf ſure upon the removal of Pool. With this view he did what he could to delay the execution of Cranmer, till the legate was recalled, and his own head ready for the mitre.

Theſe delays, however, at length grew notorious, and occaſioned ſome clamour among the warmer papiſts: and Wincheſter finding himſelf preſſed by the curioſity of

of ſome, and the zeal of others, was obliged, in part at leaſt, to abandon his ſcheme. It was his original deſign, as leſs liable to ſuſpicion, to have treated the three biſhops in the ſame way. However now, to wipe off the offence that had been taken, he reſolved to give up Ridley and Latimer to their immediate fate; and to delay Cranmer's execution, by procuring a different form of proceſs againſt him.

The chief obſtacle therefore being now removed, a commiſſion ſoon came from Rome, directed to the cardinal, who immediately named the biſhops of Lincoln, Glouceſter, and Briſtol, his commiſſioners, to execute it.

The rumour of this commiſſion ſpread an univerſal alarm. For with regard to the fates of theſe eminent perſons, the expectation of men had now almoſt totally ſubſided: and being renewed, held them doubly attentive; the exulting papiſt on one ſide, and the deſponding proteſtant on the other, ſtood prepared to ſee in this ſtroke the completion of their hopes and fears.

Great were the preparations in the mean time at Oxford, to receive the commiſſioners. For as this was the firſt judicial act, ſince the reſtoration of popery, in which the pope interfered, the utmoſt reſpect which the univerſity could pay, was deemed only a proper teſtimony of its zeal. Theſe compliments being ſufficiently diſcharged, on the 30th of ſeptember, 1555, the commiſſioners ſeating themſelves in great ſtate in the divi-

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nity-ſchool, the two biſhops were called before them. The biſhop of London was firſt queſtioned. Then biſhop Latimer was brought in; to whom Lincoln, who was a polite and very eloquent man, ſpoke to this effect.

"This parchment, Mr. Latimer, contains a commiſſion from my lord cardinal, under his holineſs, directed to me and theſe two reverend prelates, by which we are enjoined to examine you upon ſome points of faith, in which your orthodoxy is doubted: we are required to preſs you to revoke your errors, if you ſtill hold theſe pernicious opinions; and to cut you off from the church, if you perſiſt, and give you up to the civil power.

Conſider, Mr. Latimer, it is not more than twenty years, ſince theſe novel opinions got footing amongſt us. Till then the authority of the church of Rome was univerſally acknowledged. By what means it was firſt queſtioned in England; and on what unjuſtifiable motives a ſchiſm was occaſioned, I might eaſily ſhew at large———but I ſpare the dead. Let it ſuffice, that the nation having long ſought reſt in a multiplicity of new inventions, and found none, hath again ſubmitted itſelf to its mother-church; and by one unanimous act, the reſult of penitence and contrition, hath atoned for its apoſtacy. Why then ſhould you oppoſe the unanimity of a whole people? Confeſs your fault, and unite your penitence with theirs. It hath been a common error, let it be a general humiliation. Among ſuch numbers, the ſhame of each individual will be loſt. Come then in peace, for we will kindly receive you into the

the boſom of that church, whoſe authority, derived from the firſt apoſtle, depends on ſcriptures, fathers, and councils; that church, within which there can be no error, and without which there can be no ſalvation.

Let me then, in the ſpirit of charity, beſeech you to accept this offered mercy. Let me even implore you not to reduce us to the fatal neceſſity of cutting you off from the church; and leaving you to the vengeance of the civil power. Spare yourſelf: accelerate not your death: conſider the condition of your ſoul: remember it is the cauſe, not the death, that maketh the martyr. Humble yourſelf: captivate your underſtanding: ſubdue your reaſon: ſubmit yourſelf to the determination of the church: and for God's ſake, force us not to do all we may do; but let us reſt in what we have done."

Here the biſhop pauſing, Mr. Latimer ſtood up and thanked him for his gentle treatment of him; but at the ſame time aſſured him, how vain it was to expect from him any acknowledgment of the pope. He did not believe, he ſaid, that any ſuch juriſdiction had been given to the ſee of Rome, nor had the biſhops of Rome behaved as if their power had been from God. He then quoted a popiſh book, which had lately been written, to ſhew how groſly the papiſts would miſrepreſent ſcripture: and concluded with ſaying, that he thought the clergy had nothing to do with temporal power, nor ought ever to be intruſted with it: and that their commiſſion from their maſter, in his opinion, extended no farther than to the diſcharge of their paſtoral functions.

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To this the biſhop of Lincoln replied, "That he thought his ſtile not quite ſo decent as it might be; and that as to the book which he quoted, he knew nothing of it."

At this the old biſhop ſeemed to expreſs his ſurprize, and told him, that although he did not know the author of it, yet it was written by a perſon of name, the biſhop of Glouceſter.

This produced ſome mirth among the audience, as the biſhop of Glouceſter ſat then upon the bench. That prelate, finding himſelf thus publicly challenged, roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to Mr. Latimer, paid him ſome compliments upon his learning, and then ſpoke in vindication of his book. But his zeal carrying him too far, the biſhop of Lincoln interrupting him, ſaid "We came not here, my lord, to diſpute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his anſwer to certain articles, which ſhall be propoſed to him."

Theſe articles were much the ſame as thoſe, on which he had been brought to diſpute the year before. They were accordingly read, and Mr. Latimer anſwered them all as he then did; at the ſame time proteſting, which proteſtation he begged might be regiſtered, that, notwithſtanding his anſwers to the pope's commiſſioners, he by no means acknowledged the authority of the pope. The notaries having taken down his anſwers and proteſtation, the biſhop of Lincoln told him, "That as far as he could, he would ſhew lenity to him: that the

anſwers which he had now given in, ſhould not be prejudicial to him; but that he ſhould be called upon the next morning, when he might make what alterations he pleaſed; and that he hoped in God, he would then find him in a better temper." To this the old biſhop anſwered, "That he begged, they would do with him then juſt what they pleaſed, and that he might not trouble them, nor they him another day; that as to his opinions, he was fixed in them; and that any reſpite would be needleſs." The biſhop, however, told him, that he muſt appear the next morning; and then diſſolved the aſſembly.

Accordingly, the next morning, the commiſſioners ſitting in the ſame form, he was brought in: when the biſhop of Lincoln told him, that although he might juſtly have proceeded to judgment againſt him the day before, eſpecially as he himſelf had required it; yet he could not help poſtponing it one day longer. "In hopes, ſaid he, Sir, that you might reaſon yourſelf into a better way of thinking, and at length embrace, what we all ſo much deſire, that mercy, which our holy church now, for the laſt time, offereth to you."

"Alas! my lord, anſwered Mr. Latimer, your indulgence is to no purpoſe. When a man is convinced of a truth, even to deliberate is unlawful. I am fully reſolved againſt the church of Rome; and once for all, my anſwer is, I never will embrace its communion. If you urge me farther, I will reply as St. Cyprian did, on

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a like occaſion. He ſtood before his judges, upon a charge of hereſy: and being aſked which were more probably of the church of Chriſt, he and his party, who were every where deſpiſed; or they, his judges, who were every where in eſteem; he anſwered reſolutely, "That Chriſt had decided that point, when he mentioned it as a mark of his diſciples, that they ſhould take up their croſs and follow him." If this then, my lords, be one of the characteriſtics of the Chriſtian church, whether ſhall we denominate by that name, the church of Rome, which hath always been a perſecutor; or that ſmall body of chriſtians, which is perſecuted by it?"

"You mention, Sir, replied Lincoln, with a bad grace, your cauſe and St. Cyprian's together: they are wholly different."

"No, my lord, anſwered the old biſhop, his was the word of God, and ſo is mine."

But the biſhop of Lincoln, not caring to have this argument moved any farther, replied, "That he exceeded his commiſſion in giving leave for any reaſoning or debates: that he had granted this indulgence, in hopes of its ſucceſs; but obſerving a contrary effect, he would not, he ſaid, treſpaſs any longer upon the patience of his audience, by theſe unprofitable altercations." He proceeded, therefore, immediately to take Mr. Latimer's final anſwer to the articles; which he gave as he had done before; and accompanied with the ſame proteſtation.

The notaries having now cloſed the books, the biſhop of Lincoln, who through the whole of this cruel buſineſs, ſeems to have acted with as much decency, and humanity, as was poſſible, once more preſſed Mr. Latimer in a very pathetic manner to retract his opinion: but being anſwered in a ſteady negative, he at length paſſed ſentence upon him.

Mr. Latimer then aſked him, whether there lay any appeal from this judgment? "To whom, ſaid the biſhop, would you appeal?" "To the next general council, anſwered Mr. Latimer, that ſhall be regularly aſſembled!" "It will be a long time, replied the biſhop, before Europe will ſee ſuch a council, as you mean." Having ſaid this, he committed Mr. Latimer to the cuſtody of the mayor, and diſſolved the aſſembly.

On the ſame day, likewiſe, ſentence was paſſed on the biſhop of London.

The 16th of October, about a fortnight from this time, was fixed for their execution.

In the mean time, as it was feared this affair might occaſion ſome diſturbance, the queen wrote to the lord Williams of Thame, a popular nobleman in thoſe parts, and ordered him to arm a body of the militia, and repair immediately to Oxford.

Theſe preparations, and what others were neceſſary, being made, the laſt ſcene of this tragedy was opened.

SECT.

SECTION XV.

ON the north-ſide of the town, near Baliol-college, a ſpot of ground was choſen for the place of execution. Hither, on the ſixteenth, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and other perſons of diſtinction, appointed for that purpoſe, repaired early in the morning; and the lord Williams having drawn his guard round the place, the priſoners were ſent for.

The biſhop of London firſt entered this dreadful circle, accompanied by the mayor: ſoon after, biſhop Latimer was brought in. The former was dreſſed in his epiſcopal habit; the latter, as uſual, in his priſon attire. This difference in their dreſs made a moving contraſt, and augmented the concern of the ſpectators: the biſhop of London ſhewing what they had before been; biſhop Latimer, what they now were.

While they ſtood before the ſtake, about to prepare themſelves for the fire, they were informed, they muſt firſt hear a ſermon: and ſoon after, Dr. Smith, of whom mention hath already been made, aſcended a pulpit, prepared for that purpoſe, and preached on theſe words of St. Paul, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing?"

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In his diſcourſe he treated the two biſhops with great inhumanity; aſperſing both their characters and tenets.

The ſermon being ended, the biſhop of London was beginning to ſay ſomething in defence of himſelf, when the vice-chancellor, ſtarting up ſuddenly from his ſeat, ran towards him, and ſtopping his mouth with his hand, told him, "That if he was going to recant, he ſhould have leave: but he ſhould be permitted in nothing farther." The biſhop thus checked, looking round, with a noble air, cried out, "We commit our cauſe then to almighty God."

Immediately an officer ſtepped up, and acquainted them, "That at their leiſure they might now make ready for the ſtake."

The attention of the ſpectators at length burſt into tears, when they ſaw theſe two venerable men now preparing for death. When they conſidered, as Mr. Fox obſerves, their preferments, the places of honour they held in the commonwealth, the favour they ſtood in with their princes, their great learning, and greater piety, they were overwhelmed with ſorrow to ſee ſo much dignity, ſo much honour, ſo much eſtimation, ſo many godly virtues, the ſtudy of ſo many years, and ſo much excellent learning, about to be conſumed in one moment.

Mr. Latimer having thrown off the old gown which was wrapped about him, appeared in a ſhroud, prepared for

for the purpoſe; and "whereas before, ſays Mr. Fox, he ſeemed a withered and crooked old man, he now ſtood bolt upright, as comely a father, as one might lightly behold."

Being thus ready, he recommended his ſoul to God, and delivered himſelf to the executioner; ſaying to the biſhop of London, "We ſhall this day, my lord, light ſuch a candle in England, as ſhall never be extinguiſhed."

But I will draw a veil over the concluſion of this ſhocking ſcene; and only add, that he went through his laſt ſufferings with that compoſure, and firmneſs of mind, which nothing but a ſound faith, and a good conſcience could produce.

Such was the life of Hugh Latimer, biſhop of Worceſter; one of the leaders of that glorious army of martyrs, who introduced the reformation in England. He had a happy temper, formed on the principles of chriſtian philoſophy. Such was his chearfulneſs, that none of the accidents of life could diſcompoſe him. Such was his fortitude, that not even the ſevereſt trials could unman him. He had a collected ſpirit, and on no occaſion wanted a reſource; he could retire within himſelf, and hold the world at defiance.

And as danger could not daunt, ſo neither could ambition allure him. Though converſant in courts, and intimate

intimate with princes, he preſerved to the laſt, a rare inſtance of moderation, his primeval plainneſs.

In his profeſſion he was indefatigable: and that he might beſtow as much time as poſſible on the active part of it, he allowed himſelf only thoſe hours for his private ſtudies, when the buſy world is at reſt; conſtantly riſing, at all ſeaſons of the year, by two in the morning.

How conſcientious he was in the diſcharge of the public parts of his office, we have many examples. No man could perſuade more forcibly: no man could exert, on proper occaſions, a more commanding ſeverity. The wicked, in whatever ſtation, he rebuked with cenſorian dignity; and awed vice more than the penal laws. He was not eſteemed a very learned man; for he cultivated only uſeful learning; and that, he thought, lay in a very narrow compaſs. He never engaged in worldly affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himſelf only in his profeſſion. Thus he lived rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not thoſe commanding talents, which give ſuperiority in buſineſs: but for honeſty and ſincerity of heart, for true ſimplicity of manners, for apoſtolic zeal in the cauſe of religion, and for every virtue both of a public and private kind, that ſhould adorn the life of a chriſtian, he was eminent and exemplary beyond moſt men of his own, or of any other time; well

well deſerving that evangelical commendation, "With the teſtimony of a good conſcience, in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity, not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God, he had his converſation in the world."

THE END.

THE LIFE OF BERNARD GILPIN.

SECTION I.

BERNARD GILPIN was born in the year 1517, about the middle of the reign of Henry the eighth. His forefathers had been ſeated at Kentmire-hall, in Weſtmoreland, from the time of king John; in whoſe reign this eſtate had been given by the baron of Kendal to Richard Gilpin, as a reward for ſervices thought very conſiderable. Carleton, biſhop of Chicheſter, who wrote the life of Bernard Gilpin, mentions this Richard as a perſon eminent in his time, both in a civil and military capacity; and gives us a ſtory, told indeed with a fabulous air, of his killing a wild boar, which terribly infeſted thoſe parts. From this gentleman the eſtate of Kentmire deſcended to the father of Bernard, Edwin Gilpin; who became prematurely poſſeſſed of it by the death of an elder brother, killed at the battle of Boſworth.

Edwin

Edwin Gilpin had ſeveral children, of which Bernard was one of the youngeſt; an unhappy circumſtance in that age, which, giving little encouragement to the liberal arts, and leſs to commerce, reſtrained the genius and induſtry of younger brothers. No way indeed was commonly open to their fortunes, but the church or the camp. The inconvenience however was leſs to Mr. Gilpin than to others; for that way was open, to which his diſpoſition moſt led him. From his earlieſt youth he was inclined to a contemplative life; and poſſeſſed perhaps as great a ſhare of conſtitutional virtue, as any man ever had. The obſervation of theſe things led his parents early to intend him for the church.

The biſhop of Chicheſter hath preſerved a ſtory of him in his infancy, which ſhews how ſoon he could diſcern not only the immorality, but the indecorum of an action.

A begging frier came on a ſaturday evening to his father's houſe; where, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, he was received with great hoſpitality. The plenty ſet before him was a temptation too ſtrong for his virtue; of which he had not ſufficient to ſave appearances. The next morning however he ordered the bell to toll, and from the pulpit expreſſed himſelf with great vehemence againſt the debauchery of the times, and particularly againſt drunkenneſs. Mr. Gilpin, who was then a child upon his mother's knee, ſeemed for ſome time exceedingly affected with the frier's

frier's diſcourſe; and at length, with the utmoſt indignation, cried out, 'He wondered how that man could preach againſt drunkenneſs, when he himſelf had been drunk only the night before.'

Inſtances of this kind ſoon diſcovered the ſerioufneſs of his diſpoſition, and gave his parents an early preſage of his future piety.

His firſt years were ſpent at a grammar ſchool; where, agreeably to the compliment which hiſtory generally pays to ſuch as afterwards become eminent, we are told he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

From ſchool he was removed to Oxford, where it was judged learning was moſt encouraged: though indeed both the univerſities were at that time the ſeats of ignorance and ſuperſtition; and what ſtudy was encouraged was confined to perplexed ſyſtems of logic, and the ſubtilties of ſchool divinity. So that the beſt education of thoſe times was only calculated for very ſlender improvements in real learning.

At the age however of ſixteen, Mr. Gilpin was entered, upon the foundation, at Queen's college in Oxford; where we are informed his induſtry was very great, and eaſily reaped what knowledge the ſoil produced.

Eraſmus about this time drew the attention of the learned world. With a noble freedom he ſhook off the prejudices of his education, boldly attacked the reigning

ing ſuperſtitions of popery, and expoſed the lazy and illiterate churchmen of thoſe days. Such a behaviour could not but procure him many enemies; and provoked objections to whatever he could write. At Oxford particularly he was far from being in general eſteem. Our young ſtudent had however too much of the true ſpirit of a ſcholar to take any thing upon truſt, or to be prejudiced againſt an author from popular exceptions. Without liſtening therefore to what was ſaid, he took Eraſmus into his hands, and quickly diſcovered in him a treaſure of real learning, which he had in vain ſought after in the writings then moſt in eſteem.

But as he had now determined to apply himſelf to divinity, he made the ſcriptures his chief ſtudy; and ſet himſelf with great induſtry upon gaining a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages; in the ſtudy of which he was much aſſiſted by Mr. Neal, a fellow of New-college, and afterwards profeſſor of Hebrew in Oxford.

He had not been long in the univerſity, before he was taken notice of. He was thought a young man of good parts, and conſiderable learning; and they who were not ſo well qualified to judge in either of theſe points, admired and loved him for the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, and the unaffected ſincerity of his manners. At the uſual term he took the degree of maſter of arts, and about the ſame time was elected fellow of his college.

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The reformed doctrines had hitherto made no progreſs in England; and, as Mr. Gilpin had been bred up in the Romiſh church, he ſtill continued a member of it. But though in appearance he was not diſſatisfied with popery; yet it is not improbable that at this time he had his ſuſpicions of it. The writings of Eraſmus had put him upon freer inquiries than were common in thoſe days. He had the diſcretion however to keep to himſelf whatever doubts they might have raiſed in him; and before he ſaid any thing which might ſhake the faith of others, he determined to eſtabliſh his own.

He had not long been ſettled in his fellowſhip, before a public teſtimony was given to the reputation he had acquired.

Cardinal Wolſey was now at the head of affairs; a miniſter, who notwithſtanding his many vices, entertained many noble deſigns. He ſaw the corrupt ſtate of monkery in the nation, was ſcandalized at it, and began to think of ſome method to check its progreſs. The monaſtic revenues he was convinced might eaſily be applied to better uſes; particularly in raiſing the credit of the univerſities. He was reſolved therefore to make a trial; and with this view obtained bulls for the ſupreſſion of ſeveral monaſteries. Being thus enabled to carry on his deſign, he laid the foundation of Chriſt-church college in Oxford; and about this time finiſhed it. But his care extending farther than a mere endowment, he had his agents in many of the univerſities of Europe, to procure men of eminence, whom he might tranſplant

tranſplant thither; and copies of the beſt books then extant: for he deſigned that his college ſhould be the means of the reſtoration of learning in England. Mr. Gilpin's character was then ſo great, that he was one of the firſt in Oxford to whom the cardinal's agents applied. He accepted their propoſal, and removed to Chriſt-church.

Here he continued his former ſtudies; from the nature of which, and the ingenuity and honeſty of his diſpoſition, it is highly probable he might in time have been led by his own reaſonings to that diſcovery of truth he aimed at; but providence rewarded a pious endeavour by throwing in his way the means of an earlier attainment of it.

King Henry the eighth was now dead; and his young ſucceſſor began in earneſt to ſupport that cauſe, which his father had only ſo far encouraged as it contributed to repleniſh an exhauſted exchequer, and gratify that pique, which he had taken at the holy ſee. Under this prince's patronage Peter Martyr went to Oxford, where he read divinity-lectures in a ſtrain to which the univerſity had been little accuſtomed. He began with the corporal preſence; the refutation of which error, as it was one of the earlieſt of popery, he thought would much ſhock the credit of the Romiſh Church. This was looked on as a declaration of war. The bigoted were immediately in a flame: 'If theſe novelties prevailed, the peace of the church was at an end——nothing but confuſion muſt enſue—religion was utterly ruined.' While this was the populor clamour, the heads of the popiſh party

party began to rouſe from an indolence they had long indulged, and to ſet about a more formidable oppoſition. The chief of them were Chedſey, Morgan, and Treſham; men not unlearned for the times, but whoſe bigotry at leaſt kept pace with their learning.

The hiſtory of this religious war is foreign to our purpoſe. We are no otherwiſe concerned in it, than as it relates to Mr. Gilpin. His credit in the univerſity was then ſo conſiderable, that we find the popiſh party ſolicitous to engage him to ſide publicly with them; and preſſing applications were accordingly made. But they found his zeal of a much cooler temper than their own. He was not indeed ſatisfied with the reformers, having wanted hitherto the opportunities of acquainting himſelf with their arguments: but, on the other hand, he had never been a bigoted papiſt; and had, it ſeems, lately diſcovered, through a diſpute he had been engaged in with Dr. Hooper, afterwards biſhop of Worceſter, that ſeveral of the Romiſh doctrines were not ſo well ſupported by ſcripture as was commonly imagined. While his mind was in ſo unſettled a condition, he thought himſelf but ill qualified to eſpouſe either ſide publicly. His inclination rather led him to ſtand by, an unprejudiced obſerver; and to embrace truth, whether he found her among proteſtants or papiſts. Such importunity was however uſed with him, that at length he yielded, which was matter of triumph to his party; and he appeared the next day againſt Peter Martyr.

Entering thus into a controverſy againſt his inclination, he determined however to make it as uſeful to himſelf as he could. By bringing his old opinions to the teſt, he hoped at leaſt he might diſcover, whether it was only the ſtamp of antiquity upon them, or their own intrinſic worth, that gave them that value, at which they had been hitherto rated. He reſolved therefore to lay aſide, as much as poſſible, the temper of a caviller; and to place truth before him as the ſole object of his purſuit, from which he was determined to be drawn aſide neither by prejudice nor by novelty.

But he ſoon found his adverſary's arguments too ſtrong for him: they came authorized from the holy writings in ſo forcible a manner, that he could not but acknowledge them of a nature quite different from the wire-drawn proofs, and ſtrained interpretations of ſcripture, in which he had hitherto acquieſced. We need not therefore wonder, if the diſputation was ſoon over. Mr. Gilpin had nothing of that pride of heart, through which men often defend ſuſpected opinions; but gave up his cauſe with that grace which always attends ſincerity. He owned publicly, that he could not maintain it; and determined to enter into no more controverſies till he had gained the full information of which he was in purſuit.

This ingenuous regard for truth was ſhewn in the more advantageous light by the bigotry of his fellow diſputants; whoſe inflamed zeal, and fierceneſs of temper, diſcovered little of the ſcholar, and leſs of the chriſtian. In his conduct appeared an honeſt deſire of information only;

only; in theirs, the pride of oppoſition ſtruggling againſt conviction.

Peter Martyr took notice of this difference of behaviour, and would frequently ſay, that, 'As for Chedſey, Morgan, and the reſt of thoſe hot-headed zealots, he could not in truth be much concerned about them; but Gilpin ſeemed a man of ſuch uprightneſs of intention, and ſo much ſincerity, both in his words and actions, that it went to his heart to ſee him ſtill involved in prejudice and error. The reſt, he thought, were only a trifling, light ſort of men, led into an oppoſition more by vain glory, and a deſire to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and ſupport their party, than through any better motives; but Mr. Gilpin's ingenuity of behaviour, and irreproachable life, left room for no ſuch ſuſpicion with regard to him; and he could not but own, he conſidered his eſpouſing any cauſe as a very great credit to it.' He would often likewiſe tell his friends, 'It was the ſubject of his daily prayers, that God would be pleaſed at length to touch the heart of this pious papiſt with the knowledge of true religion.'—And he prayed not in vain; for Mr. Gilpin, from this time, became every day more reconciled to the reformers.

Having been thus ſtaggered by his adverſary's arguments, the firſt ſtep he took, after he had implored the divine aſſiſtance, was to recollect, and carefully commit to paper, the ſubſtance of what had paſſed in this controverſy; and of thoſe points, in which he had been hardeſt preſſed, he reſolved to enter into the ſtricteſt examination.

But before he could reconcile himſelf to this work, many diſtracting ſcruples aroſe in his mind. Though he could not but diſcover ſomething queſtionable in many of his old opinions; yet when he conſidered they were ſtill deeply rooted in the minds of almoſt the whole nation, embraced by the greateſt part of Europe, and had been through many centuries ſupported by the authority of princes and councils, he thought great deference was due to ſo awful a majority, and could not without much preplexity, think of making his own private judgment a teſt of the public faith. His ſuſpicions however forced him at length upon an examination; though with a deſign, it is probable, to confirm, rather than confute his old opinions. But he ſoon found that to be an impoſſible taſk. The more he conſidered the tenets of popery, the leſs defenſible they appeared. If he tried them by reaſon, he found them utterly unable to ſtand that proof; and if he endeavoured to reconcile them with ſcripture, he could not but obſerve, by what unnatural interpretations it was only to be effected.

He endeavoured likewiſe to acquaint himſelf with the hiſtory of popery, that he might diſcover in what age its ſeveral queſtioned doctrines firſt appeared. From this ſearch into antiquity he obſerved, that none of them obtained in the earlier and purer ages of the Chriſtian church, but were all the inventions of later times, when ignorance and credulity prevailed, and gave ſufficient opportunity for deſigning men to eſtabliſh any creed that ſuited them.

Seven

Seven ſacraments, he found, had never been heard of before the time of Peter Lombard; which was above eleven hundred years after Chriſt.

The denial of the cup to the laity appeared plainly a doctrine intended, in corrupt times, to give a myſterious ſuperiority to the clergy. No traces of it could be found till near a thouſand years after the ſacrament was firſt inſtituted.

The doctrine of tranſubſtantiation took its riſe indeed ſooner; but not however till the eighth century: at which time alſo the notion of the lord's ſupper being a propitiatory ſacrifice was firſt heard of.

Very late alſo appeared the doctrine of an action's being morally good, without any regard to the intention of the doer; commonly called the doctrine of the opus operatum. It ſeemed plainly intended for no other end but to enrich its teachers.

Thus, into whatever part of popery he examined, he found great abuſes: the true ſimplicity and ſpirit of chriſtianity were gone; totally loſt in the inventions of men. But what he firſt began to object to in the popiſh creed, and was moſt diſguſted at, were indulgences, prayers before images, and diſallowing the public uſe of the ſcripture.

The rites and ceremonies of the Romiſh church pleaſed him as little as its doctrines: many of them appeared

ed trifling; many of them ridiculous; and not a few plainly impious. That affected oſtentation, and theatrical pomp, which accompanied them all, ſeemed a ſtrange deviation from the ſimplicity of apoſtolic times; and had, he could not but obſerve, the worſt influence upon the people, as it led them from the practice of virtue, to put their truſt in outward performances.

They who have been bred up in a purer religion, may perhaps wonder, that a man of ſo much ſenſe and learning, and eſpecially of ſo much honeſty and ſincerity, needed ſo long a courſe of reaſoning to diſcover errors of ſo groſs a kind. But if his conduct may not be accounted for by prejudice, it was however ſuch as will always be expected from a fair mind in the ſame circumſtances. The matter under his conſideration was of the laſt importance; it required therefore the utmoſt caution. His good ſenſe led him early to doubt; yet, conſidering what an eſtabliſhed creed his doubts oppoſed, his humility made thoſe very doubts ſuſpected. He knew not indeed how to proceed: he was diſtracted by a thouſand ſcruples: the fault might be in himſelf —or, it might be in his religion—papiſt and proteſtant could not both be in the right—either might be in the wrong—yet each had ſomething to ſay that was plauſible. He hoped however that a merciful God would regard the difficulties he had to ſtruggle with, and exact nothing from him beyond his power—every thing in his power he was determined to do. Agreeably to this reſolution, he went on with the examination of religious matters,

matters, omitting nothing that could contribute to his due information.

While he was engaged in this work, an event fell out, which gave the laſt ſhock to his old prejudices.

Europe had now been ſo long diſtracted by religious diſſenſions, that it was univerſally thought neceſſary to ſummon a general council, which might deliberate on the beſt expedients to remove them. This prevailing deſire was liſtened to very heedleſly at Rome. A ſcrutiny into religious matters was an alarming thing to every true papiſt. The conſequence was eaſily foreſeen; and the prudent pope was very unwilling to have the pool ſtirred, leſt it ſhould be too evident how much it wanted cleanſing. But diſcontent and clamour running high, and nothing appearing likely to appeaſe the univerſal murmur but a council, one was at length convened at Trent. The pope had now recourſe to an after-game. Since he could not avoid this dreaded council, he contrived however to manage the members of it with ſuch addreſs, that his power, far from being ſhaken by them, was in fact only the more confirmed. Inſtead of repairing what was decayed, their only care was to prop the old ruin as it ſtood. But among all the meaſures then taken in ſupport of eccleſiaſtical tyranny, the compleateſt was a bold decree, that the traditions of the church ſhould be eſteemed of equal authority with the ſcriptures themſelves.

A determination of ſo extraordinary a nature was received with aſtoniſhment by every well-wiſher to religion. 'All opportunity (the reformers cried out) is now loſt! Since traditions are equal with ſcripture, and theſe traditions are in the hands of the conclave, it cannot be doubted, whoſe ſenſe they will always ſpeak. The Romaniſts have now a fund of authority for all their extravagancies. Alas! inſtead of ſtopping the breach, they have now ſo far widened it, as to deſtroy all hope of its ever cloſing again.'

Mr. Gilpin, among the reſt, took great offence at theſe proceedings. Hitherto, notwithſtanding his objections to popery, there was ſomething in an eſtabliſhed church which he knew not how to get over. The word ſchiſm greatly perplexed him: nor could he eaſily perſuade himſelf of the lawfulneſs of a ſeparation from the church of Rome, corrupt as ſhe was in other reſpects, while ſhe profeſſed to draw her rule of faith from the ſcriptures. But when he found, by the publication of the council of Trent, that ſhe had carried her authority to ſuch an height of arrogance as to ſet up her own unwritten word againſt the ſcriptures; it was high time, he thought, for all ſincere Chriſtians to take the alarm. The deſigns of the papiſts were now too plain; and if they meant well to religion, they meant it in ſuch a manner, that a good conſcience could not comply with them. For himſelf, he was obliged to conclude, from this direct oppoſition of their own authority to the authority of ſcripture, that their ſole view was to eſtabliſh their declining power: nor could he otherwiſe conſider popery than as a perplexed ſyſtem of prieſt-

prieſt-craft, ſuperſtition, and bigotry; a religion converted into a trade, and uſed only as a cloak for the tyranny and avarice of its profeſſors. In a word, he thought it now ſufficiently evident, that the church of Rome was plainly antichriſtian; and that, as ſuch there was an abſolute neceſſity laid upon every true believer to forſake her communion.

Such were the cautious ſteps Mr. Gilpin took before he declared himſelf a proteſtant. His more than ordinary candour and ſincerity, through this whole affair, met with much applauſe, and gained him great eſteem. Many years afterwards the earls of Bedford and Leiceſter, having heard there was ſomething very uncommon in his manner of proceeding on this occaſion, wanted to be more acquainted with the circumſtances of it; and for that purpoſe applied to Mr. George Gilpin, Bernard's brother, who was on terms of great intimacy with thoſe two noblemen, and then in London. Accordingly this gentleman, taking the opportunity of a viſit to his friends in the north, perſuaded his brother to give him in writing an exact account of the progreſs of his change from the Romiſh religion.

Mr. Gilpin's letter on this occaſion is ſtill extant. As it will give a truer idea of his ingenuity and caution in this affair, than any narrative can, and as it hath beſides a noble ſtrain of piety to recommend it, I ſhall here tranſcribe the greateſt part of it. It was written indeed many years after the time now treated of, and touches upon ſeveral facts not yet taken notice of; but its reference

ference to the preſent ſubject makes this the propereſt place for laying it before the reader.

'You require me to write, in a long diſcourſe, the 'manner of my converſion from ſuperſtition to the light 'of the goſpel; which, I think you know, was not in 'a few years. As time and health will permit, I will 'hide nothing from you, confeſſing my own ſhame, 'and yet hoping with the apoſtle, "I have obtained 'mercy, becauſe I did it ignorantly."

'In king Edward's time I was brought to diſpute a-'gainſt ſome aſſertions of Peter Martyr; altho I have 'ever been given to eſchew, ſo far as I might, contro-'verſies and diſputations. Being but a young ſtudent, 'and finding my groundwork not ſo ſure as I ſuppoſed, 'I went firſt to the biſhop of Durham,* who told me, 'that "Innnocent the third was much overſeen, to 'make tranſubſtantiation an article of faith." He found 'great fault with the pope for indulgencies, and other 'things.

'After, I went to Dr. Redman, in whom I had great 'truſt for the fame of his virtue and learning. He told 'me, "The communion-book was very godly, and a-'greeable to the goſpel." Theſe things made me to 'muſe.

'Afterwards one of the fellows of the Queen's college 'told me, he heard Dr. Chedſey ſay among his friends, "The

* Cuthbert Tunſtall.

'" The proteſtants muſt yield to us in granting the pre-
'ſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, and we muſt yield to
'them in the opinion of tranſubſtantiation; ſo ſhall we
'accord."

'Dr. Weſton made a long ſermon in defence of the
'communion in both kinds.

'Mr. Morgan told me, that Mr. Ware, a man moſt
'famous both for life and learning, had told him be-
'fore his death, that "The chief ſacrifice of the church
'of God was the ſacrifice of thankſgiving." This was
'his anſwer, when I deſired to know what might be
'ſaid for the ſacrifice of the maſs.

'The beſt learned biſhops likewiſe of this realm at
'that time withſtood the ſupremacy of the pope, both
'with words and writing.

'Mr. Harding coming newly from Italy, in a long
'and notable ſermon did ſo lively ſet forth, and paint in
'their colours, the friers, and unlearned biſhops aſſem-
'bled at Trent in council, that he much diminiſhed in
'me, and many others, the confidence we had in gene-
'ral councils.

'All theſe things, and many more, gave me occa-
'ſion to ſearch both the ſcriptures and antient fathers:
'whereby I began to ſee many great abuſes, and ſome
'enormities, uſed and maintained in popery; and to
'like well of ſundry reformations on the other ſide.

'Afterwards,

'Afterwards, in three years ſpace, I ſaw ſo much groſs 'idolatry at Paris, Antwerp, and other places, that made 'me to miſlike more and more the popiſh doctrines; 'eſpecially becauſe the learned men diſallowed image-'worſhip in their ſchools, and ſuffered it ſo groſly in 'their churches.

'As I could with ſmall knowledge, I examined the 'maſs: the greateſt fault I then found was too much 'reverence and groſs worſhipping of the gaping people; 'becauſe I believed not tranſubſtantiation. Likewiſe 'my conſcience was grieved at the receiving of the 'prieſt alone. Yet at length I ſaid maſs a few times as 'cloſely as I could.

'I reaſoned with certain that were learned of my ac-'quaintance, why there was no reformation of theſe groſs 'enormities about images, reliques, pilgrimages, buy-'ing maſs and trentals, with many other things, which 'in king Edward's time the catholics (ſo called) did 'not only grant to be far amiſs, but alſo promiſed that 'the church ſhould be reformed, if ever the authority 'came into their hands again. When I aſked when this 'reformation was to begin, in hope whereof I was the 'more willing to return from Paris, I was anſwered, "We may not grant to the ignorant people, that any of 'theſe things hath been amiſs: if we do, they will ſtrait 'infer other things may be amiſs as well as theſe, and 'ſtill go further and further."——This grieved me, and 'made me ſeek for quietneſs in God's word: no where 'elſe I could find any ſtay.

'After

'After this, in two or three ſermons at Newcaſtle, 'I began to utter my conſcience more plainly: when 'thirteen or fourteen articles were drawn up againſt 'me, and ſent to the biſhop. Here my adverſaries of 'the clergy, whom I had ſore offended by ſpeaking 'againſt their pluralities, had that which they looked for. 'They cauſed the biſhop to call me in their preſence, 'and examine me touching the ſacrament. The biſhop 'ſhewed favour ſo far, I truſt, as he durſt; urging me 'nothing with tranſubſtantiation, but only with the 'real preſence, which I granted, and ſo was delivered at 'that time. For the real preſence, I was not then re-'ſolved; but took it to be a myſtery above my capa-'city: yet my conſcience was ſomewhat wounded for 'granting before them in plain words the thing whereof 'I ſtood in doubt.

'After queen Mary's death I began to utter my mind 'more plainly. Before (I muſt needs confeſs my weak-'neſs) ignorance, and fear of enemies, had ſomewhat 'reſtrained me.

'Thus, in proceſs of time, I grew to be ſtronger 'and ſtronger; yet many grievous temptations and 'doubts have I had, which many nights have bereaved 'me of ſleep.

'My nature hath evermore fled controverſy ſo much 'as I could. My delight and deſire hath been to 'preach Chriſt, and our ſalvation by him, in ſimplicity

'and

'and truth; and to comfort myſelf with the ſweet pro-
'miſes of the goſpel, and in prayer.

'I have been always ſcrupulous, and troubled either
'in ſubſcribing, or ſwearing to any thing, beſide the
'ſcriptures, and articles of our belief, becauſe the ſcrip-
'ture ought ever to have a preeminence above man's
'writings.——I remember, when I went for orders to
'the biſhop of Oxford, his chaplain miniſtred an oath
'to allow all ſuch ordinances as were ſet forth, or ſhould
'be ſet forth in time to come: which oath when we
'conſidered better of it, what it was to ſwear to things
'to come, we knew not what, it troubled not only me,
'but nine or ten more with me, men of much better
'learning than I was. I, for my part, reſolved after
'that to ſwear to no writing but with exception, as it
'agreed with the word of God.—What trouble I had
'when the oath was miniſtred by the biſhops for the
'book of articles, agreed upon in 1562 and 1571, I have
'opened for quietneſs and diſcharge of my conſcience in
'another writing.——And certainly, ſince I took this
'order to open my faults in writing,* not pauſing who
'knew them, ſo it might edify myſelf or others, I have
'found great eaſe and quietneſs of conſcience; and am
'daily more edified, comforted, and confirmed, in read-
'ing the ſcriptures. And this I praiſe God for, that
'when I was moſt troubled, and weakeſt of all, my
'faith in God's mercy was ſo ſtrong, that if I ſhould
'then

* In another letter he thus ſpeaks, 'I never had doubts in reli-
'gion in all my life, nor ever diſſembled in all my life, or com-
'mitted any fault, which, ſo far as I thought it might edify, or
'do good to others, and ſo far as my remembrance ſerved, I could
'not well find in my heart to confeſs before all the world.'

'then have departed this life, I had, and have, a ſure 'truſt, that none of theſe doubts would have hindered 'my ſalvation. I hold faſt one ſentence of St. Paul, "I have obtained mercy, in that I did it in ignorance:" 'and another of Job, "If the Lord put me to death, "yet will I truſt in him."——Yet have I prayed God's 'mercy many times for all theſe offences, infirmities, and 'ignorances; and ſo I will do ſtill, ſo long as I have to 'live in this world.'

SEC-

SECTION II.

WE left Mr. Gilpin at Chriſt-church college in Oxford, now fully convinced of the errors of popery.

An academic life, affording him moſt leiſure for ſtudy, was the life he was moſt inclined to. He had too juſt a ſenſe of the duty of a clergyman to be unacquainted with the qualifications requiſite for its diſcharge; and too mean an opinion of himſelf to think he was yet maſter of them. He thought more learning was neceſſary in that controverſial age than he had yet acquired: and his chief argument with his friends, who were continually ſoliciting him to leave the univerſity, was, that he was not yet enough inſtructed in religion himſelf to be a teacher of it to others. It was an arduous taſk, he ſaid, eſpecially at that time; and proteſtantiſm could not ſuffer more, than by the rawneſs and inexperience of its teachers.

Theſe thoughts continued him at Oxford till the thirty-fifth year of his age. About that time the vicarage of Norton, in the dioceſe of Durham, falling vacant, his friends, who had intereſt to obtain it for him, renewed their ſolicitations, and at length prevailed on him to accept

accept it.* Accordingly a preſentation paſſed in his favour, which bears date, among king Edward's grants, November, 1552.

Before he went to reſide, he was appointed to preach before the king, at Greenwich. Strype, in his annals, ſeems to intimate, that Mr. Gilpin was at that time famous for his preaching in the north, and that it was on this account he was called on to preach at court. But there is little authority for this. He does not ſeem to have been yet a preacher at all; at leaſt, of any note. It is rather probable, the only reaſon of his being ſent to on this occaſion, was that he might give a public teſtimony of his being well inclined to the reformation: for the heads of the proteſtant party were at this time very ſcrupulous in the diſpoſal of livings. 'It was then ordered, 'ſays Heylin, in his church-hiſtory, that none ſhould be 'preſented unto any benefice in the donation of the 'crown, till he had firſt preached before the king, and 'thereby paſſed his judgment and approbation.'

The reigning vice of that age, as it's hiſtorians teſtify, was avarice, or more properly rapine. At court all things were venal; employments, honours, favours of every kind. In the room of law and juſtice, groſs bribery and wrong were common; in trade, grievous extortions

* While I was thus buſied, I was drawn by certain friends to accept a benefice, being very unwilling thereunto. If I offended God in taking ſuch a charge before I was better learned, and better reſolved in religion, I cry God mercy; and I doubt not but I have found mercy in his ſight. Extract of a letter from Bernard Gilpin to his brother.

and frauds. Every where and every way the poor were vexed. But in the country this rapacity was moſt obſerved, where the oppreſſions exerciſed were ſo intolerable, that the preceding year had ſeen great heats and murmurings among the people, and ſome counties even in arms.

Of theſe things the preachers moſt in earneſt ſpoke with great freedom; particularly biſhop Latimer, who was the Cato of that age. Among others Mr. Gilpin thought it became him to take notice of evils ſo much complained of: accordingly he made the avarice of the times his ſubject upon the preſent occaſion: reſolving with an honeſt freedom to cenſure corruption, in whatever rank of men he obſerved it.

As he thought nothing his intereſt, but what was alſo his duty, he was ſwayed neither by hope nor fear. He conſidered himſelf in ſome degree chargeable with thoſe vices, which he knew were prevailing, and failed to rebuke.——A freedom of this nature the times however allowed: for how little ſoever there might be of the reality of virtue, there was certainly much of the profeſſion of it: public deference at leaſt was paid to it.

Mr. Gilpin's plainneſs therefore was very well taken, and recommended him to the notice of many perſons of the firſt rank; particularly to Sir Francis Ruſſel, and Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards the earls of Bedford and Leiceſter; who from that time profeſſed a great regard

for

for him; and, when in power, were always ready to patronize him.

Theſe two noblemen were both great patrons of virtue and letters; but with very different views, as they were indeed very different men.

Bedford appeared at court with all the advantages of birth. His father, the firſt earl of that name, was one of the greateſt men of his age, eminent for unſpotted honeſty, and ſuperior talents in war and peace. His ſon purſued his ſteps, and though he wanted his father's great abilities, he was however a wiſe and an honeſt man, and acted afterwards a conſiderable part in ſettling the reformation under Elizabeth; to whoſe court he was a very great ornament. He was a friend to merit from the real love he bore to virtue.

Leiceſter, however accompliſhed in many reſpects, was a man of ambiguous character. He was however a great maſter in the arts of diſſimulation; and could act, what he always attempted, even the worſt part plauſibly. He courted good men for the credit of their acquaintance.

Theſe noblemen were Mr. Gilpin's chief patrons—voluntary patrons, whom no application on his part engaged. He received their offered friendſhip with humility and gratitude, never intending to put it to a trial. This backwardneſs proceeded chiefly from an utter averſion to all ſolicitation for church preferment. The lord

Bedford's intereſt indeed he ſcrupled not to ſolicit occaſionally for his friends: but he never once aſked, though much courted to it, any favour of the earl of Leiceſter.

Mr. Gilpin is ſaid likewiſe at this time to have been taken notice of by ſecretary Cecil, afterwards lord Burleigh, who obtained for him a general licence for preaching. In granting theſe licences great caution was then uſed: none but men of approved worth could apply for them with ſucceſs. Upon looking over king Edward's grants, it does not appear there were more than two or three and twenty thus licenced during that king's reign. Among theſe were the biſhops Jewel, Grindal, and Coverdale.

While Mr. Gilpin was at London, he frequently viſited Cuthbert Tunſtal biſhop of Durham, who was his uncle, and had always expreſſed a great regard for him. It is probable indeed, that his parents, in bringing him up to the church, might have a view to the biſhop's favour: but Tunſtal was at this time in no capacity to ſerve him.

During the reign of Henry the eighth, this prelate had lived in great credit at court; was eſteemed a man of abilities, a good ſcholar, and an able ſtateſman. His ſovereign knew his worth, advanced him to the ſee of Durham, employed him much at home and abroad; and at his death left him, during the minority, one of the regents of the kingdom. But in the ſucceeding reign his intereſt leſſened. He was not altogether ſatisfied with the

the changes daily made in religion: and though he was enough inclined to give up ſome of the groſſer tenets of popery, yet in general he favoured it, and was always in great eſteem with the Romiſh party. This occaſioned their making him privy to ſome treaſonable deſigns; which, in his cautious way, he neither concurred in nor betrayed. The plot miſcarried: the biſhop was indeed ſuſpected, but nothing appeared. Some time afterwards, when the duke of Somerſet's papers were ſeized, an unlucky letter was found, which fully detected his knowledge of the matter. He was called immediately before the council, tried by a ſpecial commiſſion, found guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, deprived, and committed to the tower.

Mr. Gilpin, having now ſtayed as long in London as his buſineſs required, repaired to his pariſh; and immediately entered upon the duties of it. He failed not, as occaſion required, to uſe the king's licence in other parts of the country; but his own pariſh he conſidered as the place where his chief care was due. Here he made it his principal endeavour to inculcate moral virtue; and to diſſuade from thoſe vices, which he obſerved moſt prevalent. He ſeldom handled controverſial points; being afraid, leſt, endeavouring to inſtruct, he might only miſlead. For, however reſolved he was againſt popery, he yet ſaw not the proteſtant cauſe in its full ſtrength; and was ſtill ſcarcely ſettled in ſome of his religious opinions. Hence by degrees a diffidence of himſelf aroſe, which gave him great uneaſineſs. He thought, he had engaged too ſoon in his office—that he could not ſufficiently

ſufficiently diſcharge it—that he ſhould not reſt in giving his hearers only moral inſtructions——that, overſpread as the country was with popiſh doctrines, he did ill to pretend to be a teacher of religion, if he were unable to oppoſe ſuch errors.

Theſe thoughts made every day a greater impreſſion upon him. At length, quite unhappy, he gave biſhop Tunſtal an account of his ſituation. The biſhop, who was the fartheſt of any man from a bigot, and liked him not the worſe for his freedom of inquiry, told him, As he was ſo uneaſy, it was his advice, that he ſhould think of nothing till he had fixed his religion: and that, in his opinion, he could not do better than put his pariſh into the hands of ſome perſon, in whom he could confide, and ſpend a year or two in Germany, France, and Holland; by which means he might have an opportunity of converſing with ſome of the moſt eminent profeſſors on both ſides of the queſtion. He acquainted him likewiſe, that his going abroad at this time would do him alſo a conſiderable ſervice: for, during his confinement, he had written two or three books, particularly one upon the lord's ſupper, which he had a deſire to publiſh; and as this could not be done ſo conveniently at home, he would be glad to have it done under his inſpection at Paris.

This letter gave Mr. Gilpin much ſatisfaction: it juſt propoſed his own wiſh. A conference with ſome of the learned men abroad was what his heart had long been

ſet

ſet on. Only he had one objection to the ſcheme; he was afraid it might prove too expenſive.

As to that, the biſhop wrote, his benefice would do ſomething towards his maintenance; and deficiences he would ſupply.

But this did not remove the difficulty. Mr. Gilpin's notions of the paſtoral care were ſo ſtrict, that he thought no excuſe could juſtify non-reſidence for ſo conſiderable a time as he intended to be abroad. He could not therefore think of ſupporting himſelf with any part of the income of his living. However, abroad he was determined to go; and reſolved, if he ſtaid the ſhorter time, to rely only upon his own frugal management of the little money he had; and to leave the reſt to the biſhop's generoſity.

Having reſigned his living therefore in favour of a perſon, with whoſe abilities, and inclinations to diſcharge the duties of it, he was well acquainted, he ſet out for London, to receive his laſt orders from the biſhop, and to embark.

The account of his reſignation got to town before him; and gave the biſhop, anxious for his nephew's thriving in the world, great concern. 'Here are your friends, ſays he, endeavouring to provide for you; and you are taking every method to fruſtrate their endeavours. But be warned: by theſe courſes, depend upon it, you will bring yourſelf preſently to a morſel of bread.' Mr. Gilpin

Gilpin begged the biſhop would attribute what he had done to a ſcrupulous conſcience, which really would not permit him to act otherwiſe. 'Conſcience! replied the biſhop; why you might have had a diſpenſation.' 'Will any diſpenſation, anſwered Mr. Gilpin, reſtrain the tempter from endeavouring, in my abſence, to corrupt the people committed to my care? Alas! I fear it would be but an ill excuſe for the harm done my flock, if I ſhould ſay, when God ſhall call me to an account for my ſtewardſhip, that I was abſent by diſpenſation.' This reply put the biſhop a little out of humour; but his diſguſt was ſoon over, and this inſtance of Mr. Gilpin's ſincerity raiſed him ſtill higher in his uncle's eſteem. The biſhop would frequently however chide him, as Mr. Gilpin afterwards would tell his friends, for theſe qualms of conſcience; and would be often reminding him, that, if he did not look better to his intereſt, he would certainly die a beggar.

The biſhop, putting into his hands the books he had written, gave him his laſt inſtructions, and parted with him in very good humour. So he took the firſt opportunity of embarking for Holland.

SEC-

SECTION III.

UPON his landing, he went immediately to Mechlin, to viſit his brother George, who was at that time purſuing his ſtudies there.

This viſit was probably on a religious account; for George, tho' a man of virtue and learning, ſeems to have been a zealous papiſt. What influence his brother Bernard had over him does not appear. We meet with him however ſoon afterwards a warm advocate for the reformation; to forward which, he tranſlated, from the Dutch into Engliſh, a very keen ſatyr againſt popery, entitled, The beehive of the Roman church. Upon Elizabeth's acceſſion, he applied himſelf to ſtate affairs; for which indeed he was now preparing himſelf at Mechlin, where the civil law was much ſtudied. The earl of Bedford brought him to court; where he was ſoon taken notice of by the queen; to whom he ſo well recommended himſelf by his dexterity in buſineſs, that ſhe made great uſe of him in her negotiations with the ſtates of Holland, and kept him many years in a public character in that country, where he was in great eſteem for his abilities and integrity. We often find his name in the accounts of thoſe tranſactions. Molloy particularly, ſpeaking of ſome affairs then in agitation, makes honourable mention of him. 'The hans-towns, ſays 'he, procured, by an imperial edict, that the Engliſh 'merchants

'merchants aſſociated in Embden and other places, ſhould 'be adjudged monopoliſts; which was done by Suderman, 'a great civilian. There was there at that time for the 'queen as nimble a man as Suderman, and he had the 'chancellor of Embden to ſecond him; yet they could 'not ſtop the edict. But Gilpin played his cards ſo 'well, that he prevailed, the imperial ban ſhould not 'be publiſhed till after the diet; and that in the mean 'time his imperial majeſty ſhould ſend an embaſſador 'to England, to advertiſe the queen of the edict.'

Mr. Gilpin having ſtaid a few weeks with his brother at Mechlin, went afterwards to Louvain, where he reſolved to ſettle for ſome time. He made frequent excurſions to Antwerp, Ghent, Bruſſels, and other places in the Low Countries; where he would ſpend a few weeks among thoſe of any reputation, whether papiſts or proteſtants: but he made Louvain his place of reſidence, for which city he always expreſſed a more than common affection. And indeed it was a moſt agreeable and commodious retreat for a ſcholar; enjoying all the advantages of ſituation, and affording the beſt opportunities for ſtudy.

Louvain is one of the chief towns of Brabant. It had formerly been the center of a very conſiderable woollen trade. More than four thouſand looms were daily at work in it, each of which employed near forty people. But its trade declining, it grew more beautiful, as it became leſs populous. Elegant houſes were built, and ſpacious walks laid out within the walls of the town; the

the river Dyle, which flowed through the midſt of it, affording the inhabitants many opportunities of ſhewing their taſte. Upon an eminence at one end ſtands the caſtle, a venerable old building, riſing out of the midſt of a vineyard. Its battlements are much frequented for the ſake of the noble proſpect they command over the country. The elegance of this ſituation made Louvain the ſeat of politeneſs. Hither the men of taſte and leiſure from all parts repaired; where inſtead of the noiſe and hurry of trade, ſo common in the towns of Flanders, they enjoyed a calm retreat, and the agreeable interchange of ſolitude and company. But what endeared Louvain moſt to a ſcholar, was the noble ſeminary eſtabliſhed there by John, the fourth duke of Brabant, with a view to keep up the credit of one of his chief towns upon the decay of the woollen manufacture. It conſiſts of many colleges, in each of which philoſophy was taught by two profeſſors, who read two hours each morning. The ſcholars had the reſt of the day to commit to writing what they heard.

At the time Mr. Gilpin was at Louvain, it was one of the chief places for ſtudents in divinity. Some of the moſt eminent divines on both ſides of the queſtion reſided there; and the moſt important topics of religion were diſcuſſed with great freedom.

Mr. Gilpin's firſt buſineſs here was to get himſelf introduced to thoſe of any reputation for learning; to whom his own addreſs and attainments were no mean recommendation, and ſupplied the place of a long acquaintance.

quaintance. He was preſent at all public readings and diſputations: he committed every thing material to writing: all his opinions he re-examined; propoſed his doubts in private to his friends; and in every reſpect made the beſt uſe of his time.

He now began to have juſter notions of the doctrines of the reformed: he ſaw things in a clearer and a ſtronger light; and felt a ſatisfaction in the change he had made, to which he had hitherto been a ſtranger.

While he was thus purſuing his ſtudies, he and all the proteſtants in thoſe parts were ſuddenly alarmed with melancholy news from England—king Edward's death—the lady Jane's fall—and queen Mary's acceſſion, whoſe bigotry was well known, and in whom the ſigns of a perſecuting ſpirit already appeared.

This bad news came however attended with one agreeable circumſtance; an account of biſhop Tunſtal's releaſe from the tower, and re-eſtabliſhment in his biſhoprick.

Soon afterwards Mr. Gilpin received a letter from his brother George, intreating him to come immediately to Mechlin; for he had an affair of conſequence to communicate to him, which abſolutely required an interview. When he came thither, he found his brother had received a letter from the biſhop, informing him, that he had found a benefice of conſiderable value vacant in his dioceſe, which he wiſhed he could perſuade his brother

brother Bernard to accept; imagining he might by this time have gotten over his former ſcruples.

George knew he had a difficult province to manage; but determined to try his influence. He begged his brother therefore to conſider, 'That he could not ſtay ſo long abroad for want of money, as he might probably chuſe—that he had already offended the biſhop—and that a ſecond refuſal might occaſion an intire breach with him—that if it did not, yet the biſhop was now an old man—ſuch benefices were not every day to be had—and after the biſhop's death, he was not likely to meet with a friend, who would thus preſs him to accept a living.' But nothing would do: Bernard continued unmoved, and gave one anſwer to all his brother's arguments, 'That his conſcience would not ſuffer him to comply.' George anſwered, 'He might have his living as well taken care of, as if himſelf were there: beſides, ſays he, you have a biſhop approving and adviſing the ſtep I recommend; what would you deſire more?' 'If a biſhop's judgment, ſaid Bernard, was to be the rule of my actions, I ſhould comply; but as I am to ſtand or fall by my own, the caſe is different.' In ſhort, George was obliged to deſiſt, and Bernard returned to Louvain, rather vexed that he had loſt ſo much time, on what appeared to him ſo trifling an occaſion. He thought it however his duty to give the biſhop his reaſons for not accepting his kind offer, which he did in the following letter;

'Right

'Right honourable, and my ſingular good maſter, 'my duty remembered in moſt humble manner, pleaſeth 'it your honour to be informed, that of late my bro- 'ther wrote to me, that in any wiſe I muſt meet him at 'Mechlin; for he muſt debate with me urgent affairs, 'ſuch as could not be diſpatched by writing. When 'we met, I perceived it was nothing elſe but to ſee if 'he could perſuade me to take a benefice, and to conti- 'nue in ſtudy at the univerſity: which if I had known to 'be the cauſe of his ſending for me, I ſhould not have 'needed to interrupt my ſtudy to meet him; for I 'have ſo long debated that matter with learned men, 'eſpecially with the holy prophets, and moſt antient 'and godly writers ſince Chriſt's time, that I truſt, ſo 'long as I have to live, never to burden my conſcience 'with having a benefice, and lying from it. My bro- 'ther ſaid, that your lordſhip had written to him, that 'you would gladly beſtow one on me; and that your 'lordſhip thought (and ſo did other of my friends, of 'which he was one) that I was much too ſcrupulous in 'that point. Whereunto I always ſay, if I be too 'ſcrupulous (as I cannot think that I am) the matter 'is ſuch, that I had rather my conſcience were therein 'a great deal too ſtrait, than a little too large: for I am 'ſeriouſly perſuaded, that I ſhall never offend God by 'refuſing to have a benefice, and lie from it, ſo long 'as I judge not evil of others; which I truſt I ſhall not, 'but rather pray God daily, that all who have cures 'may diſcharge their office in his ſight, as may tend 'moſt to his glory, and the profit of his church. He 'replied againſt me, that your lordſhip would give me

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'no benefice, but what you would ſee diſcharged in 'my abſence as well, or better, than I could diſcharge 'it myſelf. Whereunto I anſwered, that I would be 'ſorry, if I thought not there were many thouſands 'in England more able to diſcharge a cure than I find 'myſelf; and therefore I deſire, they may both take 'the cure and the profit alſo, that they may be able to 'feed the body and the ſoul both, as I think all paſtors 'are bounden. As for me, I can never perſuade myſelf 'to take the profit, and let another take the pains: 'for if he ſhould teach and preach as faithfully as ever 'St. Auſtin did, yet ſhould I not think myſelf diſ-'charged. And if I ſhould ſtrain my conſcience herein, 'and ſtrive with it to remain here, or in any other uni-'verſity, with ſuch a condition, the unquietneſs of my 'conſcience would not ſuffer me to profit in ſtudy at 'all.

'I am here, at this preſent, I thank God, very well 'placed for ſtudy among a company of learned men, 'joining to the friers minors; having free acceſs at all 'times to a notable library among the friers, men both 'well learned and ſtudious. I have entered acquain-'tance with divers of the beſt learned in the town; 'and for my part was never more deſirous to learn in all 'my life than at this preſent. Wherefore I am bold, 'knowing your lordſhip's ſingular good-will towards 'me, to open my mind thus rudely and plainly unto 'your goodneſs, moſt humbly beſeeching you to ſuffer 'me to live without charge, that I may ſtudy quietly.

'And

'And whereas I know well your lordſhip is careful 'how I ſhould live, if God ſhould call your lordſhip, 'being now aged, I deſire you let not that care trouble 'you: for, if I had no other ſhift, I could get a lec-'tureſhip, I know, ſhortly, either in this univerſity, or 'at leaſt in ſome abbey hereby; where I ſhould not 'loſe my time: and this kind of life, if God be pleaſed, 'I deſire before any benefice. And thus I pray Chriſt 'always to have your lordſhip in his bleſſed keeping.' By your lordſhip's humble ſcholar and chaplain.

Louvain, nov. 22, 1554. BERNARD GILPIN.

The biſhop was not offended at this letter. The unaffected piety of it diſarmed all reſentment; and led him rather to admire a behaviour, in which the motives of conſcience ſhewed themſelves ſo ſuperior to thoſe of intereſt. 'Which of our modern gaping rooks, exclaims the 'biſhop of Chicheſter, could endeavour with more in-'duſtry to obtain a benefice, than this man did to avoid 'one!'

Mr. Gilpin, having got over this troubleſome affair (for ſolicitations of this kind gave him of all things the moſt trouble) continued ſome time longer at Louvain, daily improving in religious knowledge. His own opinions he kept to himſelf, induſtriouſly endeavouring to make himſelf acquainted with the opinions of others, and the arguments upon which they were grounded.

While

While he ſtayed in the Low Countries, he was greatly affected with the melancholy ſight of crouds of his dejected countrymen arriving daily in thoſe parts from the bloody ſcene then acting in England. Theſe unhappy exiles however ſoon recovered their ſpirits, and, diſperſing into various towns, chearfully applied themſelves, each as his profeſſion led, to gain an honeſt livelihood. The meaner ſort exerciſed their crafts; the learned taught ſchools, read lectures, and corrected preſſes; at Baſil particularly, where the ingenious Operin was then carrying printing to great perfection. Their commendable endeavours to make themſelves not quite a burden to thoſe who entertained them were ſuitably rewarded. The ſeveral towns of Germany and Holland, finding their advantage in theſe ſtrangers, ſhewed them all imaginable civility: many private perſons likewiſe contributed to their aid: but, above all others, the generous duke of Wirtemburgh diſtinguiſhed himſelf in their favour; whoſe bounty to the Engliſh at Straſburgh and Franckfort ſhould never paſs unremembered, where theſe things are mentioned. Nor was Mr. Gilpin a little pleaſed to find, that, however unable he was perſonally to aſſiſt them, his large acquaintance in the country furniſhed him with the means of being uſeful to many of them by ſerviceable recommendations.

Mr. Gilpin had been now two years in Flanders; and had made himſelf perfect maſter of the controverſy, as it was there handled. He left Louvain therefore, and took a journey to Paris.

When he got to Paris, the firſt thing he ſet about was printing the biſhop of Durham's book. This prelate, as hath been obſerved, was a very moderate man; no favourer of proteſtantiſm, yet no friend to ſome of the groſſer tenets of the Romiſh church; particularly to its extravagant doctrine of the ſacrament of the lord's ſupper: and this book, which ſhewed the moderation of its author, gave much offence to all the more zealous papiſts; and drew many ſevere reproaches on Mr. Gilpin, who was generally ſuppoſed to have corrupted the biſhop's work. Of what was ſaid his friends gave him notice, particularly Francis Wickliff; who deſired, if the charge was unjuſt, that he would purge himſelf of it. Mr. Gilpin told him, that was eaſily done: and opening a deſk, 'See here, ſays he, a letter from my lord of Durham himſelf, in which he thanks me for my care and fidelity in this buſineſs.'

While Mr. Gilpin ſtaid at Paris, he lodged with Vaſcoſan, an eminent printer, to whom he had been recommended by his friends in the Netherlands. This learned man ſhewed him great regard, did him many friendly offices, and introduced him to the moſt conſiderable men in that city.

Here popery became quite his averſion: he ſaw more of its ſuperſtition and craft than he had yet ſeen; the former among the people, the latter among the prieſts, who ſcrupled not to avow, how little truth was their concern. He would frequently aſk, 'Whether ſuch and ſuch bad conſequences might not ariſe from ſuch and ſuch doctrines?'

trines?' But he was always anſwered, 'That was not to be regarded—the church could not ſubſiſt without them——and little inconveniences muſt be born with.'

At Paris he found his old acquaintance Mr. Neal, of New-college; who always favoured popery, and was now become a bigot to it. Mr. Gilpin often expreſſed to him the concern he had on this account; and approved his friendſhip, by the earneſt deſire he ſhewed to make him ſee his errors: but Neal was not of a temper to be wrought on.

As an inſtance of popiſh ſophiſtry and prejudice, Mr. Gilpin would ſometimes relate a converſation about image-worſhip, which he once had with this perſon at Paris. He was obſerving to him the great abſurdity of the Romaniſts, in condemning idolatry, and yet countenancing ſuch an uſe of images, as muſt neceſſarily draw the people into it. For his part, he ſaid, he knew not how a chriſtian could allow himſelf in kneeling to an image; and aſked Neal, whether, in his conſcience, he did not think it the idolatry forbidden in the ſecond commandment? Neal was for diſtinguiſhing between an idol and an image: the images of ſaints, he ſaid, were not idols; and therefore the reverence paid to them could not be idolatry. Mr. Gilpin obſerved, that in the ſecond commandment there was no mention made of an idol: the prohibition was, 'Bow not down to the likeneſs of any created thing.' And what is it, ſaid he, that makes an idol? The workman makes the reſemblance of a human creature: the image thus made is no idol: it is worſhip that makes it one. Hence the apoſtle ſays, 'an idol is nothing.'—

thing.'—a mere creature of the imagination. The diſtinction therefore between Latria and Douſia is to no purpoſe: it is made void by the expreſs words, 'Thou ſhalt not bow down 'unto them.' The very poſture of adoration, he obſerved, was forbidden; and that at leaſt the Romaniſts every where practiſed.—To all this Neal had only one general anſwer: 'You may ſay what you pleaſe; but theſe things are eſtabliſhed by the church, and cannot be altered.'

This Neal was the man, who, being afterwards chaplain to biſhop Bonner, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by being the ſole voucher of the very improbable and ſilly ſtory of the nag's-head conſecration.

Mr. Gilpin having ſpent three years abroad, was now fully ſatisfied in all his more conſiderable ſcruples. He wanted no farther conviction of the bad tendency of popery: he ſaw the neceſſity of ſome reformation; and began to think every day more favourably of the preſent one. The doctrine of the corporal preſence indeed he had not yet fully conſidered; but he looked upon it as a myſtery, which it rather became him to acquieſce in, than examine. The principal end of his going abroad being thus anſwered, he was deſirous of returning home.

The Marian perſecution ſtill raged. His friends therefore, with great earneſtneſs, diſſuaded him from his deſign. They repreſented the danger he would be in at this juncture in England——preſſed him to wait for happier times——and ſuggeſted, that it was little leſs than

than madneſs to think of going to a place, from whence all, of his ſentiments, were endeavouring to withdraw themſelves.

But it is moſt probable, that his purpoſe to return at this time was in purſuance of the biſhop of Durham's advice; who, finding the infirmities of age increaſe upon him, and believing his nephew totally unqualified to to advance himſelf in life, might be deſirous of providing for him before his death; and hoped that his power, in that remote part of the kingdom, would be a ſufficient protection for him againſt his enemies. It is however certain, that he came into England during the heat of the perſecution.

SEC-

SECTION IV.

UPON his arrival in England, he went immediately to the biſhop of Durham, who was then in his dioceſe. Here this humane prelate kept himſelf withdrawn during moſt of that violent reign, to avoid having any hand in meaſures which he abhorred.

When he left London, upon his releaſe from the tower, he was ſtraitly charged with the extirpation of hereſy in his dioceſe; and was given to underſtand, that ſeverity would be the only allowed teſt of his zeal. Theſe inſtructions he received in the ſpirit they were given; threatening, that heretics ſhould no were find a warmer reception than at Durham: and it was thought indeed the proteſtants would hardly meet with much favour from him, as they had ſhewn him ſo little. But nothing was further from his intention than perſecution; inſomuch that his was almoſt the only dioceſe, where the poor proteſtants enjoyed any repoſe. When moſt of the other biſhops ſent in large accounts of their ſervices to religion, very lame accounts came from Durham: they were filled with high encomiums of the orthodoxy of the dioceſe, interſperſed here and there with the trial of an heretic; but either the depoſitions againſt him were not ſufficiently proved; or there were great hopes of his recantation —no mention was made of any burnings. The following ſtory of his lenity we have from Mr. Fox. A perſon

ſon had been accuſed to him of hereſy, whom he had ſlightly examined, and diſmiſſed. His chancellor thinking him too favourable, preſſed for a further examination: the biſhop anſwered, 'We have hitherto lived peaceably among our neighbours: let us continue ſo, and not bring this man's blood upon us.' A behaviour of this kind was but ill reliſhed by the zealous council; and the biſhop lay deſervedly under the calumny of being not actuated by true Romiſh principles.

Such was the ſtate of the dioceſe of Durham, when Mr. Gilpin came there. The biſhop received him with great friendſhip; and, within a very little time, gave him the archdeaconry of Durham; to which the rectory of Eaſington was annexed. It is probable, that if Mr. Gilpin came home by the biſhop's advice, this preferment was then vacant, or ſoon expected to be ſo.

Upon removing to his pariſh, he found it in great diſorder. With a firm reſolution therefore of doing what good he could in it, he ſet himſelf in earneſt to reprove vice publicly and privately; to encourage virtue; and to explain the nature of true religion, with a freedom by no means ſuited to thoſe dangerous times.

Very material objections were then made to the clergy of thoſe parts. The reformation, which advanced but ſlowly in England, had made leaſt progreſs in the north. The eccleſiaſtics there wanted not a popiſh reign to authorize their ſuperſtition. But this was their beſt ſide. Their manners were ſcandalous: the paſtoral care was totally

totally neglected; and it is hard to ſay, whether vice or ignorance was more remarkable in them.

All over England indeed the church was very ill ſupplied with miniſters. 'As for the inferior clergy, ſays 'Fuller, the beſt that could be gotten, were placed in 'paſtoral charges. Alas! tolerability was eminency 'in that age. A ruſh candle ſeemed a torch where no 'brighter light was ever ſeen before. Surely preaching 'now ran very low, if it be true what I read, that Mr. 'Tavernour, of Water-Eaton in Oxfordſhire, high-'ſheriff of the county, came in pure charity, not oſ-'tentation, and gave the ſcholars a ſermon in St. 'Mary's, with his gold chain about his neck, and his 'ſword by his ſide.'

Nor can we imagine, that the high-ſheriff himſelf contributed much to advance the art of preaching, if we may judge of his oratory by a ſpecimen of it ſtill preſerved. 'Arriving, ſays he, at the mount of St. 'Mary in the ſtony ſtage where I now ſtand, I have 'brought you ſome fine biſkets, baked in the oven of 'charity, and carefully conſerved for the chickens of 'the church, the ſparrows of the ſpirit, and the ſweet 'ſwallows of ſalvation.'

We may judge likewiſe of the ſtate of learning at that time among the clergy, from the accounts ſtill preſerved of ſome archidiaconal viſitations. 'Latiné verba aliquot intelligit, non ſententiam; Latiné utcunque intelligit; Latinè pauca intelligit;' were the expreſſions generally made uſe of to characteriſe them in this particular.

How

How much, in the north eſpecially, the paſtoral care was neglected, we may judge from an account given us of the clergy of thoſe parts, by a biſhop of Durham, in a letter ſtill preſerved, to an archbiſhop of Canterbury.

'It is lamentable, ſays he, to ſee how negligently 'they ſay any ſervice, and how ſeldom. Your cures 'are all, except Rachdale, as far out of order as any 'of the country. Whalley hath as ill a vicar as the 'worſt. The biſhop of Man liveth here at eaſe, and 'as merry as pope Joan. The biſhop of Cheſter hath 'compounded with my lord of York for his viſitation, and 'gathereth up the money by his ſervants: but never a 'word ſpoken of any viſitation or reformation; and 'that, he ſaith, he doth out of friendſhip, becauſe he 'will not trouble the country, nor put them to charge 'in calling them together.

This corruption among his brethren gave Mr. Gilpin great concern. 'The inſatiable covetouſnouſs (to uſe his own words) joined with the pride, carnal liberty, 'and other vices, which reign at this time in all eſtates, 'but eſpecially among us prieſts, who ought to be the 'ſalt of the earth, breaks me many a ſleep.' He determined therefore to do all in his power to effect a reformation; or, if that were impoſſible, to proteſt however againſt what he could not alter. He conſidered, that one of his offices obliged him to take the ſame care of the manners of the clergy, as the other did of thoſe of the laity; and as he never received an office without

without a deſign of doing his duty in it, he reſolved to behave as an archdeacon ought.

Accordingly he took every opportunity of reproving the enormities he remarked. The more ingenuous of the inferior clergy he endeavoured to bring by gentler methods to their duty: the obſtinate he would rebuke with all authority. And as he feared no man in the cauſe of religion, no man's family or fortune could exempt him from his notice. At viſitations particularly, and wherever his audience was chiefly clerical, he would expreſs himſelf againſt every thing he obſerved amiſs, with a zeal, which might have been thought affected in one of a leſs approved ſincerity.

It was an opinion of his, that non-reſidence and pluralities were the principal ſources of corruption among churchmen. We need not wonder therefore, if we find him inveighing againſt them with the greateſt earneſtneſs. It muſt be owned indeed, they were at that time ſhamefully in uſe. It was no uncommon thing for a clergyman in thoſe days to hold three, and ſometimes four livings together. Mr. Stripe mentions one perſon who held five. His name was Blage: he was a batchelor in divinity; and held at one time, St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt, Whiſton and Doncaſter in Yorkſhire, Rugby in Warwickſhire, and Barnet in Middleſex. Such enormities went to the heart of the pious archdeacon; and were the conſtant ſubjects of his reproof. Sometimes he would ſhew how wrong they were in themſelves, as abſolutely contrary to the deſign of endowments; at other times

times how injurious to the reſt of the order: 'While three parts out of four of the clergy, in his manner of ſpeaking, were picking what they could get off a common, the reſt were growing wanton with ſtall-feeding.' But his great argument againſt them was, the prejudice they did religion. 'It was reaſonable, he ſaid, to think a pariſh would be better taken care of by the prieſt, who received the whole income; than by the curate, who received only a very ſmall part; and would, it might eaſily be imagined, too often proportion his pains to his allowance.' Beſides, he thought, one man's engroſſing, what in all reaſon belonged to two, perhaps three or four, agreed very ill with the ſimple manners, and ſequeſtred life of a miniſter of Chriſt; and gave an example which tended more to the diſcredit of religion, than all the preaching in the world to its advancement.

With equal freedom he likewiſe cenſured their private vices; frequently drawing the character of a bad clergyman, and dwelling upon ſuch irregularities as he knew gave moſt offence in the eccleſiaſtics of thoſe parts.

The prudent biſhop, obſerving the forwardneſs of his zeal, failed not to furniſh him with cautions in abundance; often reminding him how prudently he ought to behave, where, with all his prudence, he ſhould ſcarce avoid giving offence—and his enemies, he ſaid, could never want a handle againſt him, while popery reigned with ſo much ſeverity.

But

But ſuch repreſentations of danger had no effect upon him. The common maxims indeed of worldly prudence, he knew, were againſt him: but the examples he found in ſcripture of holy men, who with equal freedom oppoſed vice, and in times as dangerous, wrought ſtrongly with him. If his endeavours were at all ſerviceable to religion, if they only ſet ſome bounds to vice, he thought it criminal to check them through any motives of fear. It was his opinion, that when an employment was accepted, it ſhould be accepted in all its parts: he thought nothing was a greater breach of truſt, or more deſtructive of common good, than to conſider public offices only as private emoluments.

It is however a little ſurprizing, that the biſhop of Durham, who knew the world ſo well, ſhould not foreſee how much he muſt neceſſarily expoſe his nephew to the popiſh party, by placing him in ſuch a ſtation. He knew he could not temporize; and he muſt know, that without temporizing, he would ſoon be obnoxious to thoſe in power; with whoſe perſecuting principles he was well acquainted. Had he provided for him in a way, which had no connexion with the clergy, it is probable he might have avoided thoſe dangers in which we ſhall immediately find him. For his free reproofs ſoon rouſed the eccleſiaſtics of thoſe parts againſt him, and put them upon every method in their power to remove ſo inconvenient an enquirer. It was preſently the popular clamour, 'That he was an enemy to the church—a ſcandalizer of the clergy—a preacher of damnable doctrines—and that religion muſt ſuffer from the hereſies he was daily broaching, if they ſpared him any longer. 'After I entered upon the parſonage

'parſonage of Eaſington, ſays he, in a letter to his 'brother, and began to preach, I ſoon procured me 'many mighty and grievous adverſaries, for that I 'preached againſt pluralities and non-reſidence. Some 'ſaid, all that preached that doctrine became heretics 'ſoon after. Others found great fault, for that I 'preached repentance and ſalvation by Chriſt; and did 'not make whole ſermons, as they did, about tranſub-'ſtantiation, purgatory, holy-water, images, prayers 'to ſaints, and ſuch like.'

Thus, in ſhort, he had raiſed a flame, which nothing but his blood could quench. Many articles were drawn up againſt him, and he was accuſed in form before the biſhop of Durham.

This proſecution was managed chiefly by one Dunſtal, a prieſt in thoſe parts, who had always diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the archdeacon's enemy: and as it was imagined the biſhop's very great regard for Mr. Gilpin might probably obſtruct their deſigns, this perſon had been long employed by the party to work underhand, and prejudice the biſhop againſt him.

Happy was it for him, that the prelate had as much diſcernment as humanity. He knew what men and times would bear; and eaſily found a method to protect his friend without endangering himſelf.

When the cauſe came before him, 'He was ſorry to hear, that a perſon he had ſo great a regard for ſhould be

be accuſed of hereſy—that indeed himſelf had not been without ſome ſuſpicion of his leaning a little that way—but he had ſtill been in hopes there was nothing in his opinions of any dangerous conſequence to religion.—He ſhould however be fairly examined; and if he appeared to be guilty, he ſhould find a very ſevere judge in the biſhop of Durham.'

By this management the biſhop got the affair into his own hands: and taking care to preſs his accuſed friend in points only, in which he knew him able to bear examination, he brought him off innocent; telling the accuſers, 'He was afraid they had been too forward in their zeal for religion—and that hereſy was ſuch a crime, as no man ought to be charged with but on the ſtrongeſt proof.'

The malice of his enemies could not however reſt. His character at leaſt was in their power; for they had great influence upon the populace, of which they failed not to make the worſt uſe, by infuſing into thoſe, who were open to haſty impreſſions, ſuch ſentiments, as they knew moſt likely to inflame them. Several of his papers, yet remaining, ſhew what candid interpreters they were of words and actions, which could poſſibly be wreſted to any bad meaning: one letter particularly, in which with great mildneſs he endeavours to free himſelf from the ſlanders of ſome of his enemies, who had reported him to have affirmed, 'It was as lawful to have two wives as two livings.' He remembered indeed he had once been aſked 'Whether of the

two

two was worſe?' 'and that he had careleſly anſwered, He thought them both bad:' but to extend this to his affirming, 'They were both equally bad,' was perverting his meaning, he thought, in a very diſingenuous manner.

The great fatigue, and conſtant oppoſition, which Mr. Gilpin thus underwent, were, in the end, he found, too much for him.—He acquainted the biſhop therefore, 'That he muſt reſign either his archdeaconry, or his pariſh—that he would with the greateſt readineſs do his duty in which ſoever his lordſhip thought him beſt qualified for; but he was not able to do it in both.'—'Have I not repeatedly told you, ſaid the biſhop, that you will die a beggar? Depend upon it you will, if you ſuffer your conſcience to raiſe ſuch unreaſonable ſcruples. The archdeaconry and the living cannot be ſeparated: the income of the former is not a ſupport without that of the latter. I found them united, and am determined to leave them ſo.'

In conſequence of the biſhop's refuſal to let him keep either of them ſingle, he moſt probably reſigned them both; for we find him about this time without any office in the church.—During his being thus unemployed, he lived with the biſhop as one of his chaplains.

But even in this ſituation he found the malice of his enemies ſtill purſuing him. The defeat they had received did not prevent their ſeeking every opportunity of attacking him again. He avoided them as much as poſſible;

ſible; and they, on the other hand, contrived to meet him as frequently as they could; urging him continually upon ſome controverted point of religion, in contradiction often to the moſt obvious rules of decency and good manners.

The biſhop of Chicheſter gives us the particulars of one of theſe diſputes; which, he ſays, he had often heard his kinſman, Anthony Carleton ſpeak of, who lived at that time in the biſhop of Durham's family.

Some of the biſhop's chaplains getting about him in their accuſtomed manner, one of them aſked him his opinion of the writings of Luther: Mr. Gilpin anſwered, 'He had never read them: that his method had always been to ſtudy the ſcriptures, and the expoſitions of the fathers upon them; but for the writings of modern divines, he was not ſo well acquainted with them.' One of the chaplains, in a ſneering manner, commended that as a right way of proceeding; and added, 'That if all men were of Mr. Gilpin's opinion, and had the ſame veneration for antiquity, the peace of the church would no longer be diſturbed with any of theſe novel teachers.' 'But ſuppoſe, ſaid Mr. Gilpin, theſe novel teachers, have the ſenſe of antiquity on their ſide; what ſhall we ſay then? Shall the antient doctrine be rejected, becauſe of **the novel teacher**? This not ſatisfying them, they began to urge him farther. 'Pray, ſaid one of them, what are your thoughts about the real preſence?' Mr. Gilpin anſwered, 'That he really knew nothing of weight to object againſt it: but he thought

thought it too myſterious a ſubject to bear a diſpute.' But do you believe tranſubſtantiation? 'I believe every thing contained in the word of God.' 'But do you believe as the church believes?' 'Pray, ſaid Mr. Gilpin, is the catholic faith unchangeable?' 'Undoubtedly it is.' 'But the church did not always hold tranſubſtantiation as an article of faith.' 'When did it not hold it ſo?' 'Before the time of Peter Lombard, who firſt introduced it: and even ſince his time it hath undergone an alteration. Pray, tell me; is not the bread in the ſacrament converted into both the body and blood of Chriſt?' 'Undoubtedly it is.' 'But, ſaid Mr. Gilpin, Peter Lombard himſelf did not believe that: for in the eleventh chapter of his fourth book, I very well remember, he ſaith expreſly, 'There is no 'tranſubſtantiation but of bread into fleſh, and wine 'into blood.' And now, I beg you will tell me how you reconcile theſe things with the unchangeableneſs of the catholic faith?' The chaplains had nothing to anſwer: for the words of Lombard indeed plainly denied, that in the tranſubſtantiated bread there was any blood. Mr. Gilpin, obſerving their confuſion, went on: 'It appears then, that tranſubſtantiation was never heard of in the church before the time of Peter Lombard: a man might have been a good catholic without acknowledging that doctrine till then: afterwards for a long time, the only meaning of it was, a converſion of the bread into fleſh, and the wine into blood: and thus it remained, till Thomas Aquinas introduced his notion of concomitancy; at which time this doctrine underwent another change: both fleſh and blood were then, it ſeems,

contained really and ſubſtantially in the bread alone. —Alas! alas! I am afraid theſe are the novel opinions that have got in amongſt us: the catholic faith, we are both agreed, is unchangeable.' The biſhop was ſitting before the fire in the ſame chamber, where this converſation happened; and leaning back in his chair, overheard it. When it was over, he got up, and turning to his chaplains, ſaid to them with ſome emotion, 'Come, come, leave him, leave him; I find he has more learning than all of you put together.'

How long Mr. Gilpin remained unbeneficed, doth not appear. It could not however be very long, becauſe the rectory of Houghton-le-ſpring fell vacant, before Eaſington, and the archdeaconry, were diſpoſed of; and the biſhop, in a jocular way, made him an offer of all the three. But that offer it was not likely he would liſten to. He thanked the biſhop however, and accepted Houghton.

This rectory was indeed of conſiderable value, but the duty of it was proportionably laborious. It was ſo extenſive, that it contained no leſs than fourteen villages: and having been as much neglected in that dark age, as the cures in the north then ordinarily were, popery had produced its full growth of ſuperſtition. Scarce any traces indeed of true chriſtianity were left. Nay, what little religion remained, was even popery itſelf corrupted. All its idle ceremonies were carried higher in the north, than in any other part of the kingdom; and were more conſidered as the eſſentials of religion. How entirely

tielry this barbarous people were excluded from all means of better information, appears from hence, that in that part of the kingdom, through the deſigned neglect of the biſhops and juſtices of the peace, king Edward's proclamations for a change of worſhip had not even been heard of at the time of that prince's death.

Such was the condition of the pariſh of Houghton when it was committed to Mr. Gilpin's care. He was grieved to ſee ignorance and vice ſo lamentably prevail: but he did not diſpair. He implored the aſſiſtance of God; and his ſincere endeavours met with it. The people crouded about him, and heard him with attention, perceiving him a teacher of a different kind from thoſe, to whom they had hitherto been accuſtomed.

Upon his taking poſſeſſion of Houghton, it was ſome mortification to him, that he could not immediately reſide. His parſonage-houſe was gone entirely to decay; and ſome time was required to make it habitable. Part of it was fitted up as ſoon as poſſible for his reception: but he continued improving and enlarging it, till it became ſuitable to his hoſpitable temper, a proper habitation for a man who never intended to keep what he had to himſelf. 'His houſe, ſays the biſhop of Chi-'cheſter, was like a biſhop's palace; ſuperior indeed to 'moſt biſhops houſes with reſpect both to the largeneſs 'of the building, and the elegance of the ſituation.'

Soon after this late inſtance of the biſhop's favour to him, another opportunity offered, by which this gene-

rous patron hoped ſtill further to improve his fortune. A ſtall in the cathedral of Durham was vacant, which he urged Mr. Gilpin in the moſt friendly manner to accept, telling him, 'There lay not the ſame objection to this as to the archdeaconry—that it was quite a fine cure—and that he could have no reaſonable pretence for refuſing it.' But Mr. Gilpin, reſolving not to accept it, told the biſhop, 'That by his bounty he had already more wealth, than, he was afraid, he could give a good account of. He begged therefore he might not have an additional charge; but that his lordſhip would rather beſtow this preferment on one by whom it was more wanted.' The biſhop knew by long experience it was in vain to preſs him to what he did not approve; ſo there was no more ſaid of the prebend.

Though he lived now retired, and gave no offence to the clergy, their malice ſtill purſued him. They obſerved with indignation the ſtrong oppoſition between his life and theirs. His care and labour were a ſtanding ſatyr upon their negligence and ſloth; and it was the language of their hearts, 'By ſo living thou reproacheſt us.' In a word, they were determined, if poſſible, to remove ſo diſagreable a contraſt.

But they had not the eaſieſt part to manage. The country favoured him; the biſhop was his friend; and no good man his enemy. However, what malice could do was not wanting: every engine was ſet at work; and baſe emiſſaries employed in all parts to ſeek out matter for an accuſation of him. Of all this Mr. Gilpin was

ſenſible,

ſenſible, and behaved as cautiouſly as he thought conſiſtent with his duty; indeed more cautiouſly than he could afterwards approve: for, in his future life, he would often tax his behaviour at this time with weakneſs and cowardice.*

But had his caution been greater, againſt ſuch vigilant enemies it had probably been ſtill ineffectual. The eyes of numbers were conſtantly upon him, and ſcarce an action of his life eſcaped them. Of this malicious induſtry we have the following inſtance.

A woman in a dangerous labour, imploring God's aſſiſtance, was rebuked by thoſe around her for not rather praying to the virgin Mary. Alarmed by her danger, and greatly deſirous of knowing whether God or the virgin was more likely to aſſiſt her, ſhe begged, 'The great preacher lately come from abroad, might be ſent for: ſhe was ſure he would come, and could tell her what ſhe ſhould do.' Mr. Gilpin told her, 'He durſt not perſuade her to call upon the virgin Mary; but in praying to God, ſhe might be ſure ſhe did right—that there were many expreſs commands in ſcripture for it—and that God would certainly hear them who prayed earneſtly to him.' Mr. Gilpin was afterwards ſurprized to find that even this private tranſaction had not eſcaped the vigilance of his enemies.

By ſo unwearied an induſtry ſuch a number of articles were in a ſhort time got together, as, it was thought,

* See page 173.

thought, could not fail to cruſh him. He was formally accuſed therefore, and brought once more before the biſhop of Durham. How the biſhop behaved at this time we are not particularly informed. But no man knew better how to act upon an emergency. It is probable he would vary his management; but it is certain Mr. Gilpin was acquitted.

The malice of his enemies ſucceeded however in part; for the biſhop's favour to him from this time viſibly declined. The biſhop was a prudent man; and when he found, that his kinſman's piety (carried, as he thought, in many inſtances, to exceſs) began to involve himſelf in inconveniences and ſuſpicions; it is not unlikely, that he might judge his friendſhip had led him too far from his own prudential maxims of behaviour, and that he might reſolve to endanger his quiet no longer for the ſake of a man whoſe obſtinacy was inſuperable.* This was not leſs than Mr. Gilpin expected. He acknowleged his great obligations to the biſhop; was ſorry to ſee him diſguſted; and would have given up any thing, to have ſatisfied him, except his conſcience.

His enemies, in the mean time, were not thus ſilenced. Though they had been defeated a ſecond time, they

* About eaſter I was accuſed again before the biſhop, in many articles, both from York and Durham: but theſe could take no farther hold againſt me, than only to make the biſhop to blot me out of his teſtament; and to make the vulgar people ſpeak evil of me. For loſing the diſpoſal of the biſhop's goods, I thought I was well unburthened; and for the people's favour, to the end I might more edify in preaching (otherwiſe I did not covet it) I truſted time, through God's goodneſs, would brin g it again. Extract of a letter from Bernard Gilpin to his brother.

they were ſtill determined to proceed. But as they had found the biſhop of Durham could not be wrought on as they wiſhed, they reſolved to carry their accuſation elſewhere. Thirty-two articles were accordingly drawn up againſt him; and laid before Bonner of London. Here they went the right way to work. Bonner, at once took fire; extolled their laudable concern for religion; and promiſed that the heretic ſhould be at a ſtake in a fortnight.

Mr. Gilpin's friends in London, trembled for his ſafety, and inſtantly diſpatched a meſſage—that he had not a moment to loſe.

The meſſenger did not ſurprize him. He had long been preparing himſelf to ſuffer for the truth, and he now determined not to decline it. It was in ſome ſort, he thought, denying his faith, to be backward in giving the beſt teſtimony to it: and as it was the principal buſineſs of his life to promote religion, if he could better effect this by his death, it was his wiſh to die.

He received the account therefore with great compoſure; and calling up William Airay, a favourite domeſtic, who had long ſerved him as his ſteward; and laying his hand upon his ſhoulder, 'At length, ſays he, they have prevailed againſt me—I am accuſed to the biſhop of London, from whom there will be no eſcaping—God forgive their malice, and grant me ſtrength to undergo the trial.' He then ordered his ſervant to provide a long garment for him, in which he might go decently

decently to the ſtake; and deſired it might be made ready with all expedition; 'For I know not, ſays he, how ſoon I may have occaſion for it.'

As ſoon as this garment was provided, it is ſaid, he uſed to put it on every day till the biſhop's meſſengers apprehended him.

His friends in the mean time failed not to interpoſe; earneſtly beſeeching him, while he had yet an opportunity, to provide for his ſafety. But he begged them not to preſs him longer on that ſubject: ſhould he even attempt it, he ſaid, he believed it would hardly be in his power to eſcape; for he queſtioned not but all his motions were very narrowly obſerved—Beſides, he would aſk, how they could imagine he would prefer the miſerable life of an exile, before the joyful death of a martyr? 'Be aſſured, ſays he, I ſhould never have thrown myſelf voluntarily into the hands of my enemies; but I am fully determined to perſevere in doing my duty, and ſhall take no meaſures to avoid them.'

In a few days the meſſengers apprehended him, and put an end to theſe ſolicitations.

In his way to London, it is ſaid, he broke his leg, which put a ſtop for ſome time to his journey. The perſons, in whoſe cuſtody he was, took occaſion thence, maliciouſly to retort upon him an obſervation he would frequently make, 'That nothing happens to us but what is intended for our good;' aſking him, Whether he thought

thought his broken leg was ſo intended? He anſwered meekly, 'He made no queſtion but it was.' And indeed ſo it proved in the ſtricteſt ſenſe: for before he was able to travel, queen Mary died, and he was ſet at liberty.

Whatever truth there may be in this relation, which depends only on a tradition in the family; thus much is certain: the account of the queen's death met him upon the road, and put a ſtop to any farther proſecution.

SEC-

SECTION V.

MR. Gilpin, thus providentially reſcued from his enemies, returned to Houghton through crouds of people, expreſſing the utmoſt joy, and bleſſing God for his deliverance.

Elizabeth's acceſſion freed him now from all reſtraint, and allowed him the liberty he had long wiſhed for, of ſpeaking his mind plainly to his pariſhioners; tho' nobody but himſelf thought the reſerve he had hitherto uſed at all faulty.

It was now his friend the biſhop of Durham's turn to ſuffer. He and ſome other biſhops, refuſing the oath of ſupremacy, were deprived and committed to the tower. But this ſeverity ſoon relaxed: to the biſhop of Durham eſpecially the government ſhewed as much lenity as was thought conſiſtent with the reformation then carrying on. He was recommended to the care of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; with whom he ſpent in great tranquility the ſhort remainder of a very long life.

This prelate had ſeen as great a variety of fortune as moſt men; he had lived in difficult and in eaſy times; he had known both proteſtants and papiſts in power; and yet from all parties, and in all revolutions of government, he had found favour. The truth is, he was well

verſed

verſed in the arts of temporizing; and poſſeſſed a large ſhare of that complying philoſophy, which taking offence at nothing, can adapt itſelf to all things. When Henry the eighth began to innovate, the biſhop of Durham had no ſcruples. When his ſon went farther, ſtill the biſhop was quiet, and owed indeed his confinement at the cloſe of that reign to his deſire of continuing ſo. Again, when queen Mary reverſed what they had done; with this too the biſhop was ſatisfied, and forgot all his former profeſſions. Thus much however may juſtly be ſaid of him, that upon all occaſions, and where no ſecular ends were in view, he ſhewed himſelf a man of great moderation: and whether in his heart he was more papiſt or proteſtant, to arbitrary proceedings however in either perſuaſion he was wholly averſe. Thus he thought things were carried too far on one ſide in king Edward's time, and too far on the other in queen Mary's: with both reigns he was diſſatisfied, though he was too great a lover of his eaſe to oppoſe them. But as his days ſhortened, his conſcience grew more tender, and what he had done for king Henry and king Edward, he refuſed to do again for queen Elizabeth. Though the biſhop of Saliſbury is of opinion, he was not with-held by any ſcruples, but ſuch as a ſenſe of decency raiſed, from complying with that princeſs: he was very old, and thought it looked better to undergo the ſame fate with his brethren, than to be ſtill changing.* And this is the rather probable, becauſe many hiſtorians ſay, the late reign had given him

* See Burnet's hiſtory of the reformation.

him a great diſguſt to popery; and that he would often own to archbiſhop Parker, he began to think every day more favourably of the reformers.—In private life his manners were very commendable. He had an abſolute command over himſelf; a temper which no accident could diſcompoſe; great humanity, and great good nature. In learning, few of his contemporaries were equal to him; none more ready to patronize it. Of the offices of friendſhip he was a ſtrict obſerver; and was not only a favourer, but a zealous encourager of good men. In a word, where he was not immediately under the influence of court-maxims, he gave the example of a true chriſtian biſhop.

Mr. Gilpin, though deprived of the aſſiſtance of this great prelate, ſoon experienced however, that worth like his could never be left friendleſs. His merit raiſed him friends wherever he was known; and though his piety was ſuch, that he never propoſed reputation as the end of his actions; yet perhaps few of his profeſſion ſtood at this time higher in the public eſteem. 'He was reſpected, ſays the biſhop of Chicheſter, not 'only by the more eminent churchmen, but by thoſe 'of the firſt rank in the nation.'

When the popiſh biſhops were deprived, and many ſees became vacant, Mr. Gilpin's friends at court, particularly the earl of Bedford, thought it a good opportunity to uſe their intereſt in his favour. He was recommended accordingly to the queen as a proper perſon for one of the void biſhoprics: on which, as he was a north-country

north-country man, ſhe nominated him to that of Carliſle; and the earl took immediate care that a congé d' elire, with her majeſty's recommendation of him, ſhould be ſent down to the dean and chapter of that ſee.

Mr. Gilpin, who knew nothing of what was going forward in his favour, was greatly ſurpriſed at this unexpected honour; yet could not by any means perſuade himſelf to accept it. He ſent a meſſenger therefore with a letter to the earl, expreſſing his great obligations to her majeſty and his lordſhip for their favourable ſentiments of him—but begged they would excuſe his accepting their intended kindneſs—they had really thought of placing him in a ſtation which he did not merit—he muſt therefore remove from himſelf a burden to which he, who was beſt acquainted with his own weakneſs, knew himſelf unequal—in the mean time he would not fail to do his utmoſt for the ſervice of religion in an inferior employment.

The earl, upon the receipt of this letter, went immediately to Dr. Sandys, biſhop of Worceſter, who was then in London. As this prelate was intimately acquainted with Mr. Gilpin, and, as the biſhop of Chicheſter ſays, nearly related to him, the earl ſuppoſed he could not be without his influence over him; and therefore earneſtly deſired he would endeavour to perſuade his friend to think leſs meanly of himſelf. The biſhop readily undertook the office, and wrote the following letter to Mr. Gilpin.*

'My

* The original is loſt, but the biſhop of Chicheſter has preſerved a latin tranſlation of it, from which this is taken.

'My much reſpected kinſman, regarding not ſo much
'your private intereſt, as the intereſt of religion, I did
'what I could, that the biſhopric of Carliſle might be
'ſecured to you: and the juſt character I gave of you
'to the queen has, I doubt not, had ſome weight with
'her majeſty in her promotion of you to that ſee;
'which not to mention the honour of it, will enable
'you to be of the utmoſt ſervice to the church of Chriſt.
'—I am not ignorant how much rather you chuſe a
'private ſtation: but if you conſider the condition of
'the church at this time, you cannot, I think, with a
'good conſcience, refuſe this burden; eſpecially as it is
'in a part of the kingdom, where no man is thought fit-
'ter than yourſelf to be of ſervice to religion. Where-
'fore I charge you before God, and as you will anſwer
'to him, that, laying all excuſes aſide, you refuſe not to
'aſſiſt your country, and do what ſervice you can to the
'church of God.—In the mean time, I can inform you,
'that by the queen's favour you will have the biſhopric
'juſt in the condition in which Dr. Oglethorpe left it;
'nothing ſhall be taken from it, as hath been from ſome
'others.—Wherefore exhorting and beſeeching you to
'be obedient to God's call herein, and not to neglect the
'duty of your function, I commend both you and this
'whole buſineſs to the divine providence. Your kinſ-
'man and brother,

London, april 4. 1560. 'EDWIN WORCESTER.'

This

This letter, notwithſtanding the preſſing manner in which it is written, was without effect. Mr. Gilpin returned his thanks; but as for the biſhopric, he was determined, and he thought for very good reaſons, not to accept it. Nor could all the perſuaſions of his friends alter this reſolution. Had he, they aſked him, any ſcruple of conſcience about it?—In one ſenſe he had: 'The caſe, ſays he, is truly this: if any other biſhopric, beſides Carliſle, had been offered to me, I poſſibly might have accepted it: but in that dioceſe I have ſo many friends and acquaintance, of whom I have not the beſt opinion, that I muſt either connive at many irregularities, or draw upon myſelf ſo much hatred, that I ſhould be leſs able to do good there than any one elſe.'

Mr. Gilpin thus perſiſting in his refuſal, the biſhopric was at length given to Dr. Beſt, a man by no means undeſerving of it.

This prelate ſoon found he had entered upon a very diſagreeable and vexatious office. His cathedral was filled with an illiterate ſet of men, who had been formerly monks: 'For, as Camden tells us, the greater part of 'the popiſh prieſts thought it would turn to better ac-'count to renounce the pope's authority, and ſwear al-'legiance to the queen, were it for no other end than 'the excluſion of proteſtants out of their churches, and 'the relief of ſuch of their own party, who had been 'diſplaced. This they judged a piece of diſcretion high-'ly meritorious, and hoped the pope would be ſo good 'as diſpence with their oath on ſuch an occaſion.' The

dioceſe

dioceſe of Carliſle was much in this ſituation; and indeed the people there were as ſtrongly inclined to the ſuperſtitions of popery as the prieſts. This diſpoſition of the country, whetted by the prelate's rigid oppoſition, who was not a man the moſt happily qualified to manage unruly tempers, began to ſhew itſelf in very violent effects. The whole dioceſe was ſoon in a flame; and the biſhop, after two years reſidence, was obliged to repair to London, and make a formal complaint to his ſuperiors.

This vexation which the popiſh party was likely to give to any one placed in the ſee of Carliſle, is imagined, by the author of archbiſhop Grindal's life, to be a principal reaſon why Mr. Gilpin refuſed it. But this would have been as good a reaſon for his refuſing the rectory of Houghton, or any other employment in the church: for popery prevailed univerſally over the country; and he could be placed no where in the north without experiencing a toilſome oppoſition to the bigotry and prejudices of it. But his own eaſe and convenience were never motives of the leaſt weight with him, when any ſervice to mankind could be balanced againſt them.

The accounts given us by biſhop Nicholſon and Dr. Heylin of Mr. Gilpin's behaviour on this occaſion are ſtill more diſingenuous: they both aſcribe it chiefly to lucrative motives. The * former intimates, that the good man knew what he was about, when he refuſed to part

* In his hiſtorical library.

part with the rectory of Houghton for the biſhopric of Carliſle: the * latter ſuppoſes, that all his ſcruples would have vaniſhed, might he have had the old temporalities undiminiſhed. Both theſe writers ſeem to have been very little acquainted with Mr. Gilpin's character, in which diſintereſtedneſs bore ſo principal a part: it will hereafter appear, that he conſidered his income in no other light than that of a fund to be managed for the common good. The biſhop's inſinuation therefore is contradicted by every action of Mr. Gilpin's life: and as for Dr. Heylin's, it is moſt notoriouſly falſe; for the biſhopric was offered to him with the old temporalities undiminiſhed.†

There were not wanting ſome who attributed his refuſal of the biſhopric to unfavourable ſentiments of epiſcopacy. But neither for this was there any good foundation. He was indeed far from being a bigot to that or any other form of church government, eſteeming a good life, which might be led under any of them, the beſt evidence of a chriſtian. Yet he ſeems to have thought moſt favourably of the epiſcopal form; as will appear afterwards, when notice is taken of the endeavours of the diſſenters to draw him to their party.

The year after his refuſal of the biſhopric of Carliſle, an offer of another kind was made him.

* In his church hiſtory.

† See the biſhop of Worceſter's letter, p. 222.

The provoſtſhip of Queen's-college in Oxford becoming vacant ſoon after Elizabeth's acceſſion; and the fellows who were ſtrongly attached to popery, being about to chuſe a perſon inclined the ſame way, the queen, with their viſitor the archbiſhop of York, interpoſed, and inſiſted on their electing Dr. Francis. The fellows were much out of humour at this proceeding; and the affair made ſome noiſe in the univerſity, where the popiſh party was very ſtrong. At length however the queen's recommendation took effect. But though the fellows had thus choſen the perſon recommended to them, yet their behaviour was ſo undutiful towards him, that he was ſoon weary of his office; and in leſs than a year began to think of reſigning it. Mr. Gilpin was the perſon he turned his thoughts on for a ſucceſſor; apprehending that ſuch a change would not be unpleaſing to the fellows, and very agreeable to the queen. He made him an offer therefore of reſigning in his favour: but not ſucceeding the firſt time, he wrote again; begging at leaſt that he would recommend to him ſome proper perſon, and aſſuring him with what readineſs he would acquieſce in his choice. His ſecond letter is ſtill preſerved.

'After my hearty commendations: meaning to leave 'the place which I occupy in the Queen's-college at Ox-'ford, and being deſirous to preſer ſome honeſt, learned, 'godly, and eligible perſon to that office, I thought good 'yet once again to offer the provoſtſhip thereof unto you: 'which if it pleaſe you to accept, I ſhall be glad upon 'the ſight of your letters, written to that end, to move

'the

'the fellows, whom I know do mean you marvelouſly 'well. But, and if you propoſe not to encumber yourſelf 'with ſo ſmall a portion in unquietneſs (ſo may I juſtly 'call it) I ſhall wait your advice upon whom I may 'confer the ſame, whom you think meet and eligible 'thereunto: and I ſhall be ready to follow your advice 'upon the receiving of your letters, wherewith I pray 'you ſpeedily to certify me. By yours to command,

Oxford, dec. 17. 1561. 'THOMAS FRANCIS.

How Mr. Gilpin anſwered this letter doth not appear; nor whether he recommended a ſucceſſor to the diſſatisfied provoſt: this only is certain, that he refuſed the offer himſelf.

Thus having had in his option almoſt every kind of preferment which an eccleſiaſtic is capable of holding, he ſat down with one living, which gratified the utmoſt of his deſires---for he found it afforded him as many opportunities of doing good, as he was able to make uſe of.

Soon after Elizabeth's acceſſion, a general viſitation was held. An aſſembly of divines, among whom were Parker, Grindal, and Sandys, having finiſhed a body of injunctions and articles, commiſſions were iſſued out, impowering proper perſons to inforce them: the oath of ſupremacy was to be tendered to the clergy, and a ſubſcription impoſed. When the viſitors came to Durham, Mr. Gilpin was ſent to, and requeſted to preach

before the clergy there, againſt the pope's ſupremacy. To this he had no objection: but he did not like the thoughts of ſubſcribing, having ſome doubts with regard to one or more of the articles. His curate having not theſe ſcruples, he hoped that his ſubſcription might ſatisfy the viſitors. But he was miſtaken; for the next day, when the clergy were aſſembled to ſubſcribe, as an inſtance of reſpect, Mr. Gilpin was firſt called upon. The emergency allowed him no time for reflection. He juſt conſidered with himſelf, that upon the whole, theſe alterations in religion were certainly right—that he doubted only in a few immaterial points—and that if he ſhould refuſe, it might keep others back. He then took up the pen, and, with ſome heſitation, at length ſubſcribed. Afterwards retiring, he ſent a letter to the viſitors, acquainting them in what ſenſe he ſubſcribed the articles; which they accepted very favourably.

The great ignorance which at this time prevailed over the nation, afforded a melancholy proſpect to all who had the intereſt of religion at heart. To it was owing that groſs ſuperſtition which kept reformation every where ſo long at a ſtand; a ſuperſtition which was like to continue; for all the channels, through which knowledge could flow, were choaked up. There were few ſchools in the nation; and theſe as ill ſupplied as they were endowed. The univerſities were in the hands of bigots, collecting their ſtrength to defend abſurdities to the utter neglect of all good learning. At Cambridge indeed ſome advances in uſeful literature were made;

Sir

Sir John Cheke, Roger Aſcham,* and a few others, having boldly ſtruck out a new path through that wilderneſs of falſe ſcience, which involved them: but they were yet lazily followed.

The very bad conſequences which could not but be feared from this extreme ignorance, turned the endeavours of all well-wiſhers to the progreſs of true religion upon the moſt probable methods to remove it. The queen herſelf was greatly intereſted in this matter, and earneſtly recommended it to the care of her council; who began to vie with each other in their endeavours to root out falſe ſcience, as they had already done falſe religion.

No good work ever went forward, which Mr. Gilpin did not promote, as far as he was able. In this he joined to the utmoſt of his abilities—as was commonly indeed thought, beyond them. His manner of living was the moſt affluent, and generous: his hoſpitality made daily a large demand upon him; and his bounty and charities a much larger. His acquaintance therefore could not but wonder to find him, amidſt ſuch great expences, entertaining the deſign of building and endowing

* Sir John Cheke was fellow of St. John's, and afterwards tutor to Edward the ſixth. In queen Mary's time he fled into Germany; but by a trick was brought home, and recanted to ſave his life; 'A great example (ſays Lloyd in his ſtate worthies) of 'parts and ingenuity, of frailty and infirmity, of repentance 'and piety.'—Roger Aſcham was fellow of the ſame college; and profeſſor of oratory in the univerſity; afterwards tutor and ſecretary to queen Elizabeth. He was a man of great learning, honeſty, and indiſcretion.

endowing a grammar-ſchool: a deſign however which his exact oeconomy enabled him to accompliſh.

The effects of his endowment were very quickly ſeen. His ſchool was no ſooner opened than it began to flouriſh, and to afford the agreeable proſpect of a ſucceeding generation riſing above the ignorance and errors of their forefathers.

That ſuch might be its effects, no care on his part was wanting. He not only placed able maſters in his ſchool, whom he procured from Oxford, but himſelf likewiſe conſtantly inſpected it. And that encouragement might quicken the application of his boys, he took particular notice of the moſt forward: he would call them his own ſcholars, and would ſend for them into his ſtudy, and there inſtruct them himſelf.—Often when he met a poor boy upon the road, he would make trial of his capacity by a few queſtions; and if he found it ſuch as pleaſed him, he would provide for his education.

Nor did his care end here. From ſchool he ſent ſeveral to the univerſities, where he maintained them at his own expence. To others, who were in circumſtances to do ſomething for themſelves, he would give the farther aſſiſtance they needed; and thus induced many parents to allow their children a liberal education, who were otherwiſe unequal, or perhaps diſinclined, to it. While the church was in poſſeſſion of its immenſe wealth, the univerſities were always full: but when this

this was taken away, it ſoon appeared that the muſes, unportioned, had very few charms. In king Edward's reign, biſhop Latimer calculated, that even in that ſhort ſpace of time ſince the alienation of the church-lands, the two univerſities were diminiſhed by above ten thouſand perſons; a number almoſt incredible.

Nor did Mr. Gilpin think it enough to afford the means only of an academical education to theſe young people, but endeavoured with the utmoſt care to make it as beneficial to them as he could. He ſtill conſidered himſelf as their proper guardian; and ſeemed to think himſelf bound to the public for their being made uſeful members of it, as far as it lay in his power to make them ſo. With this view he held a punctual correſpondence with their tutors; and made the youths themſelves likewiſe frequently write to him, and give him an account of their ſtudies. Several of their letters, chiefly preſerved by having ſomething of Mr. Gilpin's written upon their backs, ſtill remain, and ſhew in how great veneration he was held among them.* So ſolicitous

* An extract from one of theſe letters is worth preſerving. It contains a curious account of that remarkable ſickneſs in Oxford, which ſucceeded the black aſſize, as it was afterwards called. The original is in latin.

'The terrible diſtemper among us, of which you have undoubtedly heard, hath made it indeed a dreadful time to us. During the firſt ſix days there died ninety-five; ſeventy of whom were ſcholars. This is not conjecture, but appears from the mayor's liſt. The infection does not confine itſelf to the town, but begins to ſpread in the country; where, if our accounts are true, it

tous indeed was he about them, knowing the many temptations to which their age and ſituation expoſed them, that once every other year, he generally made a journey to the univerſities, to inſpect their behaviour.

Nor was this uncommon care unrewarded. Few of his ſcholars miſcarried: 'Many of them, ſays the biſhop of Chicheſter, became great ornaments to the church; and very examplary inſtances of piety.'

Among thoſe of any note, who were educated by him, I find theſe three particularly mentioned; Henry Ayray, George Carleton, and Hugh Broughton.

Henry

'it hath carried off numbers of people: amongſt them poor Mr. Roberts. Thoſe who are ſeized with it, are in the utmoſt torment: their bowels are burnt up: they call earneſtly for drink: they cannot bear the touch of cloaths: they intreat the ſtanders by to throw cold water upon them: ſometimes they are quite mad; riſe upon their keepers; run naked out of houſes;—and often endeavour to put an end to their lives.——The phyſicians are confounded, declaring they have met with nothing ſimilar, either in their reading or practice. Yet many of them give this diſtemper a name, though they have done nothing to ſhew they are at all acquainted with its nature. The greater part of them, I am told, have now left the town, either out of fear for themſelves, or conſcious that they can do no good.——This dreadful diſtemper is now generally attributed to ſome jail infection, brought into court at the aſſizes: for it is remarkable, that the firſt infected were thoſe only who had been there.—Few women or old men have died.—God be thanked, the rage of this peſtilence is now much abated. It is ſtill among us in ſome degree, but its effects appear every day weaker.'

Henry Ayray became afterwards provoſt of Queen's-college in Oxford; where he was in great eſteem for his abilities, and exemplary life.

George Carleton was a man of worth and learning, and very deſervedly promoted to the ſee of Chicheſter. It might have been added, that he was much careſſed and employed by James I. but the favours of that undiſtinguiſhing monarch reflected no great honour upon the objects of them. To this good prelate the world is chiefly indebted for theſe memorials of Mr. Gilpin's life.

Hugh Broughton, was indeed famous in his time, and as a man of letters eſteemed by many, but in every other light deſpicable. He was a remarkable inſtance of the danger of learning without common ſenſe. During the younger part of his life he confined himſelf to a college library, where his trifling genius engaged him chiefly in rabbinical learning, in which he made a notable progreſs. Thus accompliſhed, he came abroad, with an opinion of himſelf equalled only by his ſovereign contempt for others. As he wanted that modeſt diffidence which is the natural guard of a perſon unacquainted with the world, he ſoon involved himſelf in difficulties. London was the ſcene where he firſt expoſed himſelf. Here for ſome time he paid a ſervile court to the vulgar, in the capacity of a popular preacher: but afterwards giving a freer ſcope to his vanity, he ſet up a conventicle; where aſſuming the air of an original, he treated the opinions of the times, and all who maintained them, with an inſufferable inſolence and

ſcurrility.

ſcurrility. Diſappointed of his expected preferment, and thoroughly mortified that his merit had been ſo long diſregarded, he withdrew into Germany. Thither he carried his old temper, attacking jews in ſynagogues, and papiſts in maſs-houſes. But he was ſoon glad to return into England; where having lived out all his credit, and become the jeſt even of the ſtage,* he died—a ſtanding monument of the folly of applying learning to the purpoſes of vanity, rather than the moral ends of life. †

But

* See the Alchymiſt of Ben. Johnſon; act. 2. ſc. 3. and act. 4. ſc. 5.——The Fox; act. 2. ſc. 2.

† The following elegy upon Mr. Broughton's death, written in the year 1612, I met with accidentally. The reader will not be diſpleaſed with it, as it is a very beautiful compoſition, and ſerves likewiſe to illuſtrate Mr. Broughton's character; for though meant as an encomium, it is rather a ſatyr upon him for employing himſelf in matters of mere curioſity, in the moſt trifling ſtudies, which belonged to his profeſſion.

A comely dame in ſorrow's garments dreſt,
Where chryſtal-ſliding Thames doth gently creep,
With her ſoft palm did beat her ivory breaſt,
And rent her yellow locks; her roſy cheek
She in a flood of briny tears did ſteep:
Rachel ſhe ſeemed, old Iſrael's beauteous wife,
Mourning her ſons, whoſe ſilver cord of life
Was cut by murd'rous Herod's fell and bloody knife.

Between her lilly hands the virgin held
Two teſtaments; the one defaced with ruſt,
Vanquiſht with time, and overgrown with eld,
All ſtained with careleſs ſpots, all ſoiled with duſt;
It ſeemed the ſame the which Jehovah earſt

With

But to return: while Mr. Gilpin was engaged in ſettling his ſchool, he was for ſome time interrupted by

a

With his celeſtial finger did engrave,
And on the top of ſmoaking Sinai gave
To him, whom Pharoah's daughter found in watry cave.

The other ſeemed freſh, and fairly clad
In velvet cover, filleted with gold;
White bullions and crimſon ties it had:
Its pumic'd leaves were ſeemly to behold:
That ſpotleſs lamb, which traitrous Judas ſold,
With ſacred ſtain, freſh iſſuing from his ſide,
Them gilt, when in Jeruſalem he dyed,
For to redeem his deareſt love, his beauteous bride.

Theology, for ſo men called the maid,
Upon theſe volumes caſt her melting eyes:
'And who ſhall now, quoth ſhe, ſince Broughton's dead,
'Find out the treaſure, which within you lies,
'Shadowed in high and heavenly myſteries?
'Ah! who ſhall now, quoth ſhe, to others tell
'How earth's great anceſtor, old Adam fell,
'Baniſhed from flowery Eden, where he once did dwell?

'What meant that monſtrous man, whom Babel's king
'Did in a troubled ſlumber once behold,
'Like huge Goliah, ſlain by David's ſling,
'Whoſe dreadful head, and curled locks were gold,
'With breaſts and mighty arms of ſilver mould;
'Whoſe ſwelling belly and large ſides were braſs,
'Whoſe legs were iron, feet of mingled maſs,
'Of which one part was clay, the other iron was?

'What meant the lion, plumed in eagle's wings:
'What meant the bear, that in his horrid jaw
'Three ribs of ſome devoured carcaſe brings:

'What

a rebellion which broke out in the north. The popiſh party, which had given ſo much diſturbance to Elizabeth's

'What meant the leopard, which Belſhazzar ſaw,
'With dreadful mouth and with a murdering paw;
'And what that all devouring horned beaſt
'With iron teeth, and with his horrid creſt:
'All this, and much beſides, by Broughton was expreſt.

'Twas he that branched Meſſiah's ſacred ſtem
'In curious knots, and traced his earthly race
'From princely Adam to the noble Sem,
'So down to him that held Coniah's place,
'And from his ſon to Mary full of grace,
'A heavenly maid, a bleſſed virgin wife,
'Who highly favoured, gave the precious life,
'The ranſom of a world from ſin and Satan's ſtrife.

'Twas he that graved the names of Jacob's ſons
'In that myſterious plate on Aaron's breaſt:
'Reuben in ſardius, which as water runs;
'In topaz Simeon, baſer than the reſt;
'In emerald Levi, for his doctrine beſt;
'Judah in carbuncle, like heaven's bright eye;
'And Iſſachar in ſaphire's azure die;
'In ruby Zabulon, which near the ſea doth lie:

'Dan in the flowery hyacinth is cut;
'In agat Napthali; and warlike Gad
'In bloody amethyſt: Aſhur is put
'In cryſolite: the beryl Joſeph had;
'Young Benjamin, old Jacob's ſweeteſt lad,
'The onyx: each within his ſeveral ſtone
'Our great Bezaleol carved, who now is gone
'To praiſe the lamb, and him who ſits upon the throne.

'Ye

beth's reign, made at this time a freſh effort. Two factious ſpirits, the earls of Weſtmorland, and Northumberland,

'Ye ſacred Muſes, that on Siloah ſing,
'And in celeſtial dew do dip your quill,
'The which your Phœbus, mighty Elohim,
'In ſilver-ſtreaming channels doth diſtill
'From top of Hermon, and of Sion hill,
'As you your great creator's praiſe rehearſe,
'Ah! lend one broken ſigh, one broken verſe,
'One doleful-tuned hymn to deck his ſable hearſe.

'And you, poor Jews, the iſſue of old Sem,
'Who did in honey-flowing Canaan dwell,
'And ſwayed the ſceptre of Jeruſalem,
'Until ſome ſnaky fury, ſent from hell,
'Did you enrage with ſpite and malice fell
'To put your lord to death—ah! now repent
'For murdering that lord!—ah! now lament
'His death, who would have brought you into Japhet's tent.

'Ye learned clerks, that covet Adam's tongue,
'Long time preſerv'd in Heber's holy line,
'After th' empriſe of that heav'n-ſcaling throng,
'Which ſought above the dew-ſteep'd clouds to climb
'(Such hateful pride was found in earthy ſlime)
'Do you lament this wondrous learned man,
'Who, tuneful as the ſilver-pinion'd ſwan,
'Canaan's rich language in perfection ſang.

'He knew the Greek, plenteous in words and ſenſe,
'The Caldee wiſe, the Arabic profound,
'The Latin pleaſing with its eloquence,
'The braving Spaniſh with its lofty ſound,
'The Tuſcan grave with many a laurel crown'd,
'The liſping French that fits a lady vain,
'The German, like the people, rough and plain,
'The Engliſh full and rich, his native country's ſtrain.

'Ah!

thumberland, inflamed by the ſeditious whiſpers of a Romiſh emiſſary, were drawn from their allegiance. The watchful miniſtry ſoon ſuſpected them; and the queen, with her uſual foreſight, appointing a ſhort day for their appearance at court, obliged them, yet unprepared, to take arms.

Mr. Gilpin had obſerved the fire gathering before the flame burſt out; and knowing what zealots would ſoon approach him, he thought it prudent to withdraw. Having given proper advice therefore to his maſters and ſcholars, he took the opportunity to make a journey to Oxford.

The

'Ah! Scottiſh Iſhmaels, do not offer wrong
'Unto his quiet urn; do not defame
'The ſilver ſound of that harmonious tongue:
'Peace, dirty mouths, be quieted by ſhame,
'Nor vent your gall upon a dead man's name.
'O wake, ye weſt-winds; come, ye ſouth, and blow;
'With your myrth-breathing mouths ſweet odours throw
'Into the ſcented air round Broughton's tomb below.'

This ſaid, the virgin vaniſhed away.
Meanwhile heaven put its darkeſt mantle on;
The moon obſcured withheld her ſilver ray;
No twinkling ſtar with chearful luſtre ſhone,
But ſable night lowered from her ebon throne.
—Yet ſorrow ceaſe; tho' he's no longer ours,
Still, ſtill he lives in yon celeſtial bowers,
And reigns triumphant with a choir of heavenly powers.

The rebels in the mean time publiſhed their manifeſto, and appeared in arms; diſplaying in their banners a chalice, and the five wounds of Chriſt, and enthuſiaſtically brandiſhing a croſs before them. In this order they marched to Bernard-caſtle, which ſurrendered to them. They next ſurprized Durham; where they burned all the bibles they could find, and had maſs ſaid publicly in the cathedral. The country around felt their rage. Many of them ravaged as far as Houghton. Here they found much booty: the harveſt was juſt over; the barns were full; the grounds well ſtocked with fatted cattle. Every thing became their prey; and what was deſigned to ſpread a winter's gladneſs through a country, was in a moment waſted by theſe ravagers.

But themſelves ſoon felt the conſternation they occaſioned. The approach of the earl of Suſſex with a numerous army was now confirmed. Every rumour brought him nearer. Their fears proportionally increaſed, they mutinied, threw down their arms, and diſperſed. The country being generally loyal, many were taken, and impriſoned at Durham and Newcaſtle; where Sir George Bowes was commiſſioned to try them.

Here Mr. Gilpin had an opportunity of ſhewing his humanity. Sir George had received perſonal ill treatment from them; and the clamours of a plundered country demanded the utmoſt legal ſeverity: and indeed the utmoſt legal ſeverity was exerciſed, to the great indignation of all, who were not wholly bent on revenge. This induced Mr. Gilpin to interpoſe. He repreſented

to

to the marſhal the true ſtate of the country, 'That, in general, the people were well affected; but being extremely ignorant, many of them had been ſeduced by idle ſtories, which the rebels had propagated, making them believe they took up arms for the queen's ſervice.' Perſuaded by what he ſaid, or paying a deference to his character, the marſhal grew more mild; and ſhewed inſtances of mercy, not expected from him.

About this time Mr. Gilpin loſt one of the moſt intimate friends he ever had, Dr. Pilkington, biſhop of Durham; a man much admired for his learning, but more eſteemed for the integrity of his life. He was bred at Cambridge, where he was many years maſter of St. John's college. Here he was firſt taken notice of for a freedom of ſpeech which drew upon him queen Mary's reſentment. But he had the good fortune to eſcape the inquiſition of thoſe times. In the ſucceeding reign he recommended himſelf by an expoſition of the book of Haggai, or rather by an ingenious application of it to the reformation in religion then deſigning. He was afterwards introduced to the queen; and being found a man of true moderation, the reforming temper then looked for, and of abilities not unequal to the charge, he was promoted to the ſee of Durham. Having taken upon him this truſt, he made it the endeavour of his life to fulfil it. He withdrew himſelf immediately from all ſtate avocations, and court dependencies, in which indeed he had never been much involved, and applied himſelf wholly to the duties of his function; promoting religion rather by his own example, than by the

uſe

uſe of proper diſcipline, in which he was thought too remiſs.—At Durham he became acquainted with Mr. Gilpin. Their minds, intent on the ſame purſuits, eaſily blended. It was a pure friendſhip, in which intereſt had no ſhare; for the one had nothing to aſk, the other had nothing to receive. When buſineſs did not require their being ſeparate, they were generally together; ſometimes at Biſhop-Awkland, and as often at Houghton. At theſe meetings they conſulted many pious deſigns. Induced by Mr. Gilpin's example, the biſhop founded a ſchool at the place of his nativity in Lancaſhire; the ſtatutes of which he brought to his friend to reviſe and correct.

SECTION VI.

MR. Gilpin's blameleſs life, his reputation in the world, his piety, his learning, and that uncommon regard for truth, which he had always diſcovered, made it the deſire of perſons of all religious perſuaſions to get him of their party, and have their cauſe credited by his authority.

The diſſenters made early propoſals to him. The reformation had ſcarce obtained a legal ſettlement under Elizabeth, when that party appeared. Its origin was this.

The Engliſh proteſtants, whom the Marian perſecution had driven from home, flying in great bodies into Germany and Switzerland, ſettled at Frankfort, Straſburgh, Arrow, Zuric, and Geneva. Of all theſe places Frankfort afforded them the kindeſt reception. Here, by the favour of the magiſtracy, they obtained the joint uſe of a church with the diſtreſſed proteſtants of France, to whom likewiſe Frankfort at that time afforded protection. Theſe were chiefly Calviniſts. Religious prejudices between both parties were however here laid aſide. Their circumſtances as fellow-exiles in a foreign land, and fellow-ſufferers in a common cauſe, inſpired them with mutual tenderneſs: in one great oppoſition all others ſubſided; and proteſtant and papiſt became

became the only diſtinction. In a word, the Engliſh thinking their own church now diſſolved, having no material objections, and being the leſs body, for the ſake of peace and convenience, receded from their liturgy, and conformed to the French. Some authors indeed mention this as an impoſed condition. Be it however as it will, the coalition was no ſooner known, than it gave the higheſt offence to many of the Engliſh ſettled in other parts. 'It was ſcandalous, they exclaimed, to ſhew ſo little regard to an eſtabliſhment which was formed with ſo much wiſdom, was ſo well calculated for all the ends of religion, and for which their poor brethren in England were at that time laying down their lives.' The truth of the caſe was, the argument had been before moved; and this was only the rekindling of that flame which John a Laſco had formerly raiſed.* An oppoſition ſo very unſeaſonable produced, as ſuch oppoſitions generally do, the worſt effects. Beſides the ſcandal it every where gave, it engaged the Frankfort Engliſh in a formal defence of their proceedings; and their paſſions being excited, they began at length to maintain on principle, what they at firſt eſpouſed only for convenience. Accordingly, when they came home, they revived the diſpute with bitterneſs enough; and became then as unreaſonable in moleſting, as they had

* John a Laſco was a native of Poland; from whence being driven on the account of his religion, he retired into England; where, by the favour of Edward the ſixth, he was allowed to open a church for the uſe of thoſe of his own perſuaſion. But he made only a bad uſe of this indulgence; interfering very impertinently in the eccleſiaſtical controverſies then on foot.

before been unreaſonably moleſted. Subtil men will never be wanting, who have their ſiniſter ends to ſerve by party-quarrels. And thus ſome ambitious ſpirits among the diſſenters, wanting to make themſelves conſiderable, blew up the flame with great vehemence: 'It was as good, they exclaimed, not to begin a reformation, as not to go through with it—the church of England was not half reformed—its doctrines indeed were tolerable, but its ceremonies and government were popiſh and unchriſtian—it was in vain to boaſt of having thrown off the Romiſh yoke abroad, while the nation groaned under a lordly hierarchy at home—and for themſelves, as they had been ſufferers in the cauſe of religion, they thought it was but right they ſhould be conſulted about the ſettlement of it.' This imprudent language was a melancholy preſage to all who had real chriſtianity at heart. It was anſwered, 'That things were now legally ſettled—that whatever could give juſt offence to the ſcrupulous had been, it was thought, removed—that if they could not conform, a quiet non-conformity would be tolerated—and that the many inconveniences attending even that change, which was abſolutely neceſſary, made it very diſagreeable to think of another, which was not ſo.' The lord Burleigh endeavoured to convince them how impoſſible it was in things of this nature to give univerſal ſatisfaction, by ſhewing them that even among themſelves they could not agree upon the terms of an accommodation. And ſir Francis Walſingham propoſed to them from the queen, that a few things in the eſtabliſhed church, to which they moſt objected, ſhould be aboliſhed. But they anſwered loftily, in the language

guage of Moſes, 'That not an hoof ſhould be left behind.' This irreconcileable temper gave great offence not only to the churchmen, but to the more ſerious of their own perſuaſion. The government from this time ſlighting them, they appealed to the people; and by the popular artifice of decrying authority, they ſoon became conſiderable.—Such were the beginnings of thoſe diſſentions which our prudent forefathers entailed on their poſterity!

The diſſenters having thus formed their party among the people, endeavoured to ſtrengthen it by ſoliciting every where the moſt creditable perſons in favour of it. Very early applications were made to Mr. Gilpin. His refuſal of the biſhopric of Carliſle had given them favourable ſentiments of him, and great hopes that in his heart he had no diſlike to their cauſe. But they ſoon found their miſtake. He was wholly diſſatisfied with their proceedings. Religious diſputes were in his opinion of ſuch dangerous conſequence, that he always thought when true chriſtianity, under any form of church-government, was once eſtabliſhed in a country, that form ought not to be altered, unleſs blameable in ſome very material points. 'The reformation, he ſaid, was juſt: eſſentials were there concerned. But at preſent he ſaw no ground for diſſatisfaction. The church of England, he thought, gave no reaſonable offence. Some things their might be in it, which had been perhaps as well avoided:* but to diſturb the peace of a nation for

* It is probable he here means particularly the uſe of veſtments, which gave a good deal of offence at that time.—Biſhop Burnet, ſpeaking

for ſuch trifles, he thought, was quite unchriſtian.'—And indeed what appeared to him chiefly blameable in the diſſenters,

ſpeaking of ſome letters he ſaw at Zurick between Bullinger and ſome of the reformed biſhops, has the following paragraph, which it will not be improper to quote at length, as it gives us a good idea of thoſe times.

'Moſt of theſe letters contain only the general news, but 'ſome were more important, and relate to the diſputes then on 'foot concerning the habits of the clergy, which gave the firſt 'beginnings to our unhappy diviſions; and by the letters, of 'which I read the originals, it appears that the biſhops preſerved 'their antient habits rather in compliance with the queen's in-'clinations, than out of any liking they had to them; ſo far 'were they from liking them, that they plainly expreſſed their 'diſlike of them. Jewel, in a letter bearing date the 8th of 'feb. 1566, wiſhes that the veſtments, together with all the other 'remains of popery, might be thrown both out of their church-'es, and out of the minds of the people, and laments the 'queen's fixedneſs to them: ſo that ſhe would ſuffer no change 'to be made.—And in january the ſame year, Sandys writes to 'the ſame purpoſe. "Contenditur de veſtibus papiſticis utendis 'vel non utendis, dabit Deus his quoque finem." Diſputes are 'now on foot concerning the popiſh veſtments, whether they 'ſhould be uſed or not, but God will put an end to theſe things. '—Horn biſhop of Wincheſter went further: for in a letter da-'ted july 16, 1565, he writes of the act concerning the habits 'with great regret; and expreſſes ſome hopes that it might be 'repealed next ſeſſion of parliament, if the popiſh party did not 'hinder it; and he ſeems to ſtand in doubt whether he ſhould 'conform himſelf to it or not, upon which he deſires Bullinger's 'advice. And in many letters writ on that ſubject, it is aſſer-'ted, that both Cranmer and Ridley intended to procure an act 'for aboliſhing the habits, and that they only defended their 'lawfulneſs, but not their fitneſs, and therefore they blamed pri-'vate

diſſenters, was, that heat of temper, with which they propagated their opinions, and treated thoſe who differed from them. Neither epiſcopal nor preſbyterian government, nor caps, nor ſurplices, nor any external things, were matters with him half ſo intereſting, as peace and charity among chriſtians: and this was his conſtant topic in all his occaſional converſations with that party.

Such

'vate perſons that refuſed to obey the laws.—Grindal in a letter 'dated the 27th of auguſt, 1566, writes, that all the biſhops, 'who had been beyond the ſea, had at their return dealt with 'the queen to let the matter of the habits fall: but ſhe was ſo 'prepoſſeſſed, that though they had all endeavoured to divert her 'from proſecuting that matter, ſhe continued ſtill inflexible. 'This had made them reſolve to ſubmit to the laws, and to wait 'for a fit opportunity to reverſe them. He laments the ill effects 'of the oppoſition that ſome had made to them, which had extremely irritated the queen's ſpirit, ſo that ſhe was now much 'more heated in thoſe matters than formerly; he alſo thanks Bullinger for the letter he had writ, juſtifying the lawful uſe of the 'habits, which, he ſays, had done great ſervice.—Cox, biſhop 'of Ely, in one of his letters, laments the averſion that they found 'in the parliament to all the propoſitions that were made for the 'reformation of abuſes.—Jewel, in a letter dated the 22d of may '1559, writes, that the queen refuſed to be called head of the 'church, and adds, that that title could not juſtly be given to a'ny mortal, it being due only to Chriſt; and that ſuch titles had 'been ſo much abuſed by Antichriſt, that they ought not to be 'any longer continued.—On all theſe paſſages I will make no re'flections here: for I ſet them down only to ſhew what was the 'ſenſe of our chief churchmen at that time concerning thoſe 'matters, which have ſince engaged us in ſuch warm and angry 'diſputes; and this may be no inconſiderable inſtruction to one 'that intends to write the hiſtory of that time.'

Dr. Burnet's travels, let. 1.

Such however was the opinion they entertained of him, that notwithſtanding theſe caſual intimations of his diſlike to them, they ſtill perſiſted in their endeavours to gain him to their ſide. The chief of them failed not to ſet before him what they had to ſay of moſt weight againſt the eſtabliſhed diſcipline; and a perſon of eſteemed abilities among them came on purpoſe from Cambridge to diſcourſe with him on the beſt form of eccleſiaſtical government. But this agent did his cauſe little credit. With no great learning he had an inſupportable vanity; and ſeemed to take it for granted, that himſelf and Calvin were the two greateſt men in the world. His diſcourſe had nothing of argument in it; an indecent invective againſt epiſcopacy was the ſum of it. He was ſo full of himſelf, that Mr. Gilpin thought it to no purpoſe to reaſon with him, and therefore avoided whatever could lead them into a diſpute.

Some time after Mr. Gilpin heard, that his late viſitant had reported him to have affirmed, ſpeaking about the primitive times, that 'the virtues of the moderns were not equal even to the infirmities of the fathers.' He ſaid indeed he remembered ſome ſuch thing coming from him; but not in the pointed manner in which it was repreſented. His adverſary had been decrying the fathers greatly, declaring there were men in this age much their ſuperiors, plainly intimating whom he principally intended. Such arrogance, Mr. Gilpin ſaid, he was deſirous to mortify; and meant it of ſuch moderns as him, when he aſſerted that their virtues were not equal to the infirmities of the fathers.

The

The ſucceſs the diſſenters had met with in their private applications, encouraged them to try what farther might be had by a public attack on the national church. Their great champion was Dr. Cartwright, who wrote with much bitterneſs againſt it. His book was immediately diſperſed over the nation, received by the party with loud acclamations, and every where conſidered by them as unanſwerable.

Soon after it was publiſhed, it was zealouſly put into Mr. Gilpin's hands. The gentleman who ſent it, one Dr. Birch, a warm friend to the principles advanced in it, deſired he would read it carefully, and communicate to him his remarks. But very impatient for them, he ſent a meſſenger, before Mr. Gilpin had read the book half through. He returned it however with the following lines, which ſhew his opinion of church-government in general.

'Multa quidem legi, ſed plura legenda reliqui;
'Poſthac, cum dabitur copia, cuncta legam.
'Optant ut careat maculis eccleſia cunctis;
'Præſens vita negat; vita futura dabit.

Though Mr. Gilpin was thus greatly diſſatisfied with the diſorderly zeal which the more violent of the diſſenters expreſſed, attended, as he obſerved it was, with ſuch fatal conſequences, he confined however his diſlike to their errors; to their perſons he bore not the leaſt ill-will. Nay, one of the moſt intimate friends he

he ever had was Mr. Lever, a miniſter of their perſuaſion, and a ſufferer in their cauſe.

This gentleman had been head of a college in Cambridge, and afterwards prebendary of Durham, and maſter of Sherborn-hoſpital. He was a man of good parts, conſiderable learning, and very exemplary piety; and had been eſteemed in king Edward's time an eminent and bold preacher. During the ſucceeding confuſion he ſettled at Arrow in Switzerland, where he was teacher to a congregation of Engliſh exiles. Here he became a favourer of Calvin's opinions; and at his return home was conſidered as one of the principal of the diſſenting party. The very great indiſcretions, already mentioned, of a few violent men, ſoon made that whole party obnoxious to the government; to which nothing perhaps contributed more than the ſeditious application of that doctrine to Elizabeth, which had been formerly propagated againſt female government by Knox and Goodman in the reign of her ſiſter. This was touching that jealous queen in a very ſenſible part; and induced her, perhaps too rigorouſly, though ſhe was really ill uſed, to preſs uniformity.—Among others Mr. Lever ſuffered: he was convened before the archbiſhop of York, and deprived of his eccleſiaſtical preferment. Many of the cooler churchmen thought him hardly dealt with, as he was really a moderate man, and not forward in oppoſing the received opinions.

Mr. Gilpin was among thoſe who pitied his treatment; nor did he ſcruple to expreſs his uſual regard for him,

him, though it was not a thing the moſt agreeable to his ſuperiors. But he had too much honour to ſacrifice friendſhip to popular prejudice; and thought, that they, who agreed in eſſentials, ſhould not be eſtranged from each other for their different ſentiments on points of leſs importance.

As Mr. Gilpin was thus ſolicited on one hand by the diſſenters, ſo was he on the other by the papiſts. It had long been a mortification to all the well-meaning of that perſuaſion, that ſo good a man had left their communion; and no methods were left untried to bring him back. But his change had been a work of too much caution to be repented of: ſo that all their endeavours proved, as it was eaſy to ſuppoſe they would, ineffectual.

A letter of his, written upon an occaſion of this kind, may here not improperly be inſerted, to ſhew how well ſatisfied he was at this time with having left the church of Rome; and how unlikely it was that he ſhould ever again become a member of it. I wiſh I could give this letter in it's original ſimplicity. The manuſcript indeed is ſtill extant; but it is ſo mutilated, that it is impoſſible to tranſcribe a fair copy. The biſhop of Chicheſter however hath given a Latin tranſlation of it, from which I ſhall take as much as is worth preſerving. It was written in anſwer to a long letter from one Mr. Gelthorpe, a relation of Mr. Gilpin's, who being a warm papiſt himſelf, was very uneaſy that his kinſman and friend ſhould be a proteſtant; concluding his letter thus:

'——— Now,

'——— Now, I beſeech you, remember what God 'hath called you to; and beware of paſſionate doings. 'I know you have ſuffered under great ſlanders and evil 'reports; yet you may, by God's grace, bridle all af-'fections, and be an upright man. The report of you 'is great at London, and in all other places; ſo that 'in my opinion you ſhall in theſe days, even ſhortly, 'either do much good, leaning to the truth; or elſe '(which I pray God turn away from us!) you ſhall 'do as much evil to the church as ever Arius did.'

To this letter the following was Mr. Gilpin's anſwer.

'I received your letter when I had very little time 'to anſwer it, as the bearer can inform you. I did not 'care however to ſend him back without ſome return, 'though in the latter part of your letter you ſay enough 'to tempt me to do ſo. For what encouragement have 'I to write, when you tell me, you are predetermined 'not to be perſuaded? It could not but damp the pro-'phet's zeal, when he cried out, 'Hear the word of 'the Lord;' to be anſwered by a ſtubborn people, 'We will not hear.'——But let us leave events to 'God, who can ſoften the heart of man, and give ſenſe 'to the deaf adder, which ſhutteth her ears.

'You look back, you ſay, upon paſt ages. But 'how far? If you would carry your view as high as 'Chriſt, and his apoſtles; nay, only as high as the 'primitive times, and examine them without prejudice; 'you could not but ſee a ſtrange alteration of things,

'and

'and acknowledge that a thouſand errors and abſurdi-
'ties have crept into the church, while men ſlept.

'It grieves me to hear you talk of your concern for
'the ſuppreſſion of abbies and monaſteries: numbers
'even of your own communion have confeſſed, that it
'was impoſſible for them to ſtand longer. They were
'grown into ſuch monſtrous ſanctuaries of vice, that
'their cry, no doubt, like that of Sodom, aſcended in-
'to the ears of God. Beſides, conſider what peſts they
'were to all good learning and religion; how they
'preyed upon all the rectories in the kingdom; amaſ-
'ſing to themſelves, for the ſupport of their vices,
'that wealth, which was meant by pious founders for
'the maintenance of induſtrious clergymen.

'He that cometh to God, you ſay, muſt believe.
'Without doubt: but I would have you conſider, that
'religious faith can have no foundation but the word
'of God. He, whoſe creed is founded upon bulls, in-
'dulgences, and ſuch trumpery, can have no true faith.
'All theſe things will vaniſh, where the word of
'God hath efficacy.

'You ſay, you cannot ſee any thing in the Romiſh
'church contrary to the goſpel: I ſhould think, if you
'looked narrowly into it, you might ſee the goſpel in-
'tirely rejected; and in its room legends, traditions,
'and a thouſand other abſurdities introduced.—But
'this is an extenſive ſubject, and I have little leiſure.
'Some other time probably I may write more largely
'upon

'upon theſe points. May God in the mean time open 'your eyes to ſee "the abominations of the city upon "ſeven hills." Rev. 17. Conſult St. Jerome upon this 'paſſage.

'You uſe the phraſe, "If you ſhould now begin to "drink of another cup:" whereas you never drank of 'any cup at all. How can you defend, I would gladly 'know, this ſingle corruption; or reconcile it with 'that expreſs command of Chriſt, "Drink ye all of "this;" I am ſure, if you can defend it, it was more 'than any of your learned doctors at Louvain could 'do, as I myſelf can witneſs.

'As to our being called heretics, and avoided by 'you, we are extremely indifferent: we appeal from 'your uncharitable cenſures to Almighty God; and 'ſay with St. Paul, "we little eſteem to be judged of "you, it is the Lord who judgeth us."

'But you ſay, it is dangerous to hear us. So ſaid 'the perſecutors of St. Stephen, and ſtopped their ears. 'So likewiſe Amaziah behaved to the prophet Amos. 'David likewiſe ſpeaks of ſuch men, comparing them "to the deaf adder, which ſtoppeth her ears." And we 'have inſtances of the ſame kind of bigotry in the 'writings of the evangeliſts; where we often read of 'men, whoſe minds the god of this world hath blinded.

'As for the terrible threatnings of your biſhop, we 'are under no apprehenſion from them. They are cal-

'culated

'culated only for the nurſery. Eraſmus, properly calls 'them bruta fulmina. If the pope and his cardinals, 'who curſe us with ſo much bitterneſs, were like Peter 'and Paul; if they diſcovered that fervent charity, 'that extenſive benevolence, and noble zeal in their 'maſter's cauſe, which diſtinguiſhed thoſe apoſtles, 'then were there ſome reaſon to dread their cenſures: 'but alas! they have changed the humility of Peter into 'the pride of Lucifer; the labours and poverty of a-'poſtles into the ſloth and luxury of eaſtern monarchs.

'I am far from thinking there is no difference between 'conſubſtantiality and tranſubſtantiation. The former 'undoubtedly hath many texts of ſcripture for its ſup-'port; the latter certainly none: nay, it hath ſo 'confounded many of its moſt zealous aſſertors, Scotus, 'Occam, Biel, and others, that it is plain how per-'plexed they are to get over the many difficulties that 'ariſe from it. Indeed Scotus thought, as biſhop 'Tunſtal would ingenuouſly confeſs, that the church 'had better make uſe of ſome leſs laboured expoſition 'of thoſe words in ſcripture. And the good biſhop 'himſelf likewiſe, though he would have men ſpeak 'reverently of the ſacrament, as the primitive church 'did, yet always ſaid that tranſubſtantiation might well 'have been let alone. As to what Mr. Chedſey ſaid, "That the catholics would do well to give way in the "article of tranſubſtantiation," I cannot ſay I heard 'him ſpeak the words myſelf, but I had them from a 'perſon who did.

'I am

'I am far from agreeing with you, that the lives of 'ſo many vicious popes ſhould be paſſed over in ſilence. 'If the vices of churchmen ſhould thus be concealed, 'I know not how you will defend Chriſt for rebuking 'the phariſees, who were the holy fathers of thoſe 'times: or the prophet Iſaiah, who is for having good 'and evil diſtinguiſhed; and denounces a curſe upon 'thoſe, "who call him holy that is not holy:" or St. 'Bernard likewiſe, who ſcruples not to call ſome wick-'ed prieſts in his time the miniſters of Antichriſt. 'Such examples may excuſe us.

'Five ſacraments, you ſay, are rejected by us. You 'miſtake: we uſe them ſtill as the ſcripture authorizes. 'Nay, even to the name of ſacrament we have no ob-'jection; only ſuffer us to give our own explanation 'of it. I find waſhing of feet, and many other things 'of the ſame kind, are called ſacraments by ſome old 'writers; but the fathers, and ſome of the beſt of the 'ſchoolmen, are of opinion, that only baptiſm and the 'Lord's ſupper can properly be called ſacraments.

'I am ſurpriſed to hear you eſtabliſh on a few eaſy 'paſſages in St. Paul the ſeveral ridiculous ceremonies 'of the maſs: ſurely you cannot be ignorant, that moſt 'of them were invented long afterwards by the biſhops 'of Rome.—How much you obſerve St. Paul upon o-'ther occaſions, is evident from your ſtrange abuſe of 'the inſtitution of bread and wine. There it ſignifies 'nothing what the apoſtle ſays: tradition is the better 'authority.

'You

'You tell mey ou can prove the uſe of prayers for the 'dead from ſcripture. I know you mean the book of 'Maccabees. But our church follows the opinion of 'the fathers in ſaying, that theſe books are profitable 'for manners, but not to be uſed in eſtabliſhing doc-'trines.

'St. Auſtin, you ſay, doubts whether there be not 'a purgatory. And ſo becauſe he doubts it, the church 'of Rome hath eſtabliſhed it as an article of faith. 'Now I think if ſhe had reaſoned right from the ſaint's 'doubts, ſhe ſhould at leaſt have left it indifferent. 'Faith, you know St. James ſays, ought not to waver. 'The biſhop of Rocheſter, who was a diligent ſearcher 'into antiquity, ſays, that among the antients there is 'little or no mention made of purgatory. For myſelf, 'I am apt to think, it was firſt introduced by that 'grand popiſh traffick of indulgencies.

'As to what you ſay about the invocation of ſaints, 'St. Auſtin, you know, himſelf exhorteth his readers 'not to ground their faith upon his writings, but on 'the ſcriptures. And indeed, I think, there is nothing 'in the whole word of God more plainly declared to 'us than this, that God alone muſt be the object of our 'adoration. "How ſhall they call on him, ſaith St. "Paul, in whom they have not believed?" If we be-'lieve in one God only, why ſhould we pray to any 'more? The popiſh diſtinction between invocation, 'and advocation, is poor ſophiſtry. As we are told, 'we muſt pray only to one God; ſo we read likewiſe 'of only one advocate with the father, Jeſus Chriſt the

'righteous.—You ſay you believe in the communion
'of ſaints; and infer, that no communion with them
'can ſubſiſt, unleſs we pray to them: but our church
'underſtands quite another thing by the communion of
'ſaints: for the word ſaint is a common ſcripture epi-
'thet for a good chriſtian; nor doth it once ſignify, in
'either teſtament, as far as I can remember, a departed
'ſoul: nay, ſometimes the words are very expreſs, as
'in the fixteenth pſalm, "To the ſaints which be on
"earth." If any man ever had a communion with the
'ſaints in heaven, ſurely David had it: but he never
'ſpeaks of any communion with which he was acquaint-
'ed, but with the ſaints on earth.—And thus likewiſe St.
'John ſpeaks, "What we have ſeen and known, that de-
"clare we unto you, that you may have fellowſhip, or
"communion, with us, and that our communion may
"be with God, and with his ſon Jeſus Chriſt." 1 John,
'i. 3. All the members of the church of Chriſt have com-
'munion among themſelves: which communion con-
'ſiſts chiefly in mutual prayers and preaching. Second-
'ly, the church of Chriſt hath communion with the fa-
'ther and the ſon, or with the father through the ſon.
'That ſuch communion as this exiſts, we have good
'authority; but none at all for a belief in a commu-
'nion with departed ſouls: theſe, as I obſerved before,
'are never in ſcripture called ſaints; but generally de-
'ſcribed by ſome ſuch periphraſis, as, "The congre-
"gation of the firſt-born in heaven;" or, "the ſpirits
"of juſt men made perfect." In the next world pro-
'bably with theſe likewiſe we may have communion;
'but they who expect it in this, muſt either bring
'ſcripture for what they ſay, or come under our Sa-
'viour's

'viour's cenſure, "In vain do ye worſhip me, teach-
"ing for doctrines the traditions of men." Matt. xv. 9.
'—Indeed by the cuſtom of late ages departed ſouls are
'called ſaints: but I hope I need not inform you that
'the holy ſcripture is a more proper directory, than
'the cuſtom of any age.—But it is needleſs to diſpute
'upon this point, becauſe even the moſt zealous de-
'fenders of it acknowledge it to be a thing indifferent,
'whether we pray immediately to God, or through the
'mediation of ſaints. And if it be a thing indifferent,
'ſure a wiſe man knows what to do.

'As for what you ſay about images, and faſting (the
'proper uſe of which latter God forbid that I ſhould
'ſay any thing againſt) together with your arguments
'in favour of reliques, and exorciſms, I could without
'any ſort of difficulty reply to them: but at this time
'you really muſt excuſe me: it is not an apology of
'courſe when I aſſure you, that I am now extremely
'buſy. You will the more eaſily believe me, when I
'tell you that I am at preſent without a curate; and
'that I am likewiſe a good deal out of order, and hard-
'ly able to undergo the neceſſary fatigues of my office.

'As to your not chuſing to come to Houghton on a
'ſunday, for fear of offending my people, to ſay the
'truth, except you will come to church, which I think
'you might do very well, I ſhould not much deſire to
'ſee you on that day; for country people are ſtrangely
'given to copy a bad example; and will unlearn more
'in a day, than they have been learning for a month.

'—You muſt excuſe my freedom: you know my heart; 'and how gladly I would have it to ſay, "Of thoſe "whom thou gaveſt me have I loſt none." But on 'any other day, or if you will come on ſunday night, 'and ſtay a week with me, I ſhall be glad to ſee you. 'We may then talk over theſe things with more free-'dom: and though, as I obſerved before, the latter part 'of your letter gives me no great encouragement, yet I 'will endeavour to have a better hope of you, than 'you have of yourſelf. St. Paul, in the early part of his 'life, was fully perſuaded that he ſhould die a phariſee, 'and an enemy to the croſs of Chriſt: but there was a 'reſerve of mercy in ſtore for him; and through God's 'grace his heart became ſo changed, that he ſuffered 'perſecution himſelf for that name, which it had been 'before his ambition to perſecute.

'May the great God of heaven make you an object of 'the ſame mercy, and by the ſpirit of knowledge lead 'your mind into all truth. I am, &c.

'BERNARD GILPIN.'

SEC-

SECTION VII.

THE public generally ſees us in diſguiſe: the caſe is, we ordinarily pay a greater deference to the world's opinion, than to our own conſciences. Hence a man's real merit is very improperly eſtimated from the the more expoſed part of his behaviour.

The paſſages of Mr. Gilpin's life, already collected, are chiefly of a public nature; if we may thus call any action of a life ſo private. To place his merit therefore in its trueſt light, it will be neceſſary to accompany him in his retirement; and view his ordinary behaviour, from which all reſtraint was taken off.

When he firſt took upon him the care of a pariſh, he ſet himſelf to conſider how he might beſt perform the charge intruſted to him. The paſtoral care he ſaw was much neglected: the greater part of the clergy, he could not but obſerve, were ſcandalouſly negligent of it; and even they, who ſeemed deſirous of being accounted ſerious in the diſcharge of their miniſtry, too often, he thought, conſidered it in a light widely different from its true one. Some, he obſerved, made it conſiſt in aſſerting the rights of the church, and the dignity of their function; others, in a ſtrenuous oppoſition to the prevailing ſectaries, and a zealous attachment to the eſtabliſhed church-government; a third

ſort,

ſort, in examining the ſpeculative points, and myſtical parts of religion: few of them in the mean time conſidering either in what the true dignity of the miniſterial character conſiſted; or the only end for which church-government was at all eſtabliſhed; or the practical influence, which can alone make ſpeculative points worth our attention.—All this he obſerved, with concern, reſolving to purſue a different path, and to follow the laudable example of thoſe few, who made the paſtoral care to conſiſt in a ſtrenuous endeavour to amend the lives of thoſe they were concerned with, and to promote their trueſt happineſs both here and hereafter.

The ſtrange diſorder of that part of the country where his lot fell, hath already been obſerved. The extreme of ignorance, and of courſe of ſuperſtition, was its characteriſtic. The great care of Parker, archbiſhop of Canterbury, his frequent and ſtrict viſitations, his ſevere inquiries into the miniſtry of the clergy, and manners of the laity, had made a very viſible alteration in the ſouthern parts of England; but in the north, reformation went on but ſluggiſhly. The indolent archbiſhop of York ſlept over his province. In what great diſorder the good biſhop Grindal found it, upon his tranſlation thither, in the year 1570, appears from his epiſcopal injunctions, among which it is ordered, that no pedlar ſhould be admitted to ſell his wares in the church porch in time of ſervice——that pariſh-clerks ſhould be able to read—that no lords of miſrule, or ſummer lords and ladies, or any diſguiſed perſons, morrice-dancers, or others, ſhould come irreverently

rently into the church, or play any unſeemly parts with ſcoffs, jeſts, wanton geſtures, or ribald talk, in the time of divine ſervice.—From theſe things we may conceive the ſtate of the pariſh of Houghton, when Mr. Gilpin came there.

He ſet out with making it his endeavour to gain the affection of his pariſhioners. Many of his papers ſhew how material a point he conſidered this. To ſucceed in it however he uſed no ſervile compliances: he would have his means good, as well as his end. His behaviour was free without familiarity; and inſinuating without art: he condeſcended to the weak, bore with the paſſionate, complied with the ſcrupulous; and in a truly apoſtolic manner, 'became all things to all men.' By theſe means he gained mightily upon his neighbours, and convinced them how heartily he was their friend.

To this humanity and courteſy he added an unwearied application to the duties of his function. He was not ſatisfied with the advice he gave in public, but uſed to inſtruct in private; and brought his pariſhioners to come to him with their doubts and difficulties. He had an engaging manner towards thoſe, whom he thought well-diſpoſed: nay his very reproof was ſo conducted, that it ſeldom gave offence; the becoming gentleneſs with which it was urged made it always appear the effect of friendſhip. Thus laying himſelf out in admoniſhing the vicious, and encouraging the well-intentioned, in a few years he made a greater change in his

his neighbourhood, than could well have been imagined —a remarkable inſtance, what reformation a ſingle man may effect, when he hath it earneſtly at heart!

But his hopes were not ſo much in the preſent, as in the ſucceeding generation. It was an eaſier taſk, he found, to prevent vice, than to correct it: to form good habits in the young, than to amend bad habits in the old. He laid out much of his time therefore in an endeavour to improve the minds of the younger part of his pariſh. Nor did he only take notice of thoſe within his ſchool, but in general extended his care through the whole place: ſuffering none to grow up in an ignorance of their duty; but preſſing it as the wiſeſt part to mix religion with their labour; and amidſt the cares of this life to have a conſtant eye upon the next.

Nor did he omit whatever beſides might be of ſervice to his pariſhioners.

He was very aſſiduous in preventing law-ſuits among them. His hall was often thronged with people who came to him with their differences. He was not indeed much acquainted with law, but he could decide equitably, and that ſatisfied: nor could his ſovereign's commiſſion have given him more weight than his own character gave him.

He had a juſt concern for all under affliction; and was a much readier viſitant at the houſe of mourning, than at that of feaſting: and his large fund of reading

and

experience always furniſhed ſomething that was properly affecting. Hence he was conſidered as a good angel by all in diſtreſs.——When the infirmities of age came upon him, and he grew leſs able to endure exerciſe, it was his cuſtom to write letters of conſolation to ſuch as were in affliction.*

He

* The following letter of this kind the reader may perhaps think worth his perſual.

'After my moſt due commendations, I beſeech you, gentle 'Mrs. Carr, diligently to call to mind how mercifully God hath 'dealt with you in many reſpects. He hath given you a gentle-'man of worſhip to be your huſband; one that I know loveth 'you dearly, as a chriſtian man ſhould love his wife. And by 'him God hath bleſſed you with a goodly family of children, 'which both you and your huſband muſt take to be the favoura-'ble and free gift of God.—But, good Mrs Carr, you muſt un-'derſtand, that both that gift of God, and all others, and we 'ourſelves are in his hands: he takes what he will, whom he 'will, and when he will; and whomſoever he taketh, in youth 'or in age, we muſt fully perſuade ourſelves, that he ordereth all 'things for the beſt. We may not murmur, or think much at 'any of his doings: but muſt learn to ſpeak from our hearts 'the petition of the Lord's prayer, "Thy will be done on earth "as it is in heaven." It is unto this holy obedience that St. 'Peter calleth all chriſtians, ſaying, "Humble yourſelves under "the mighty hand of God."—This godly ſubmiſſion did cauſe 'the holy patriach Job, when it pleaſed God to take from him 'not only one, but all his children, ſeven brethren and ſiſters, 'upon one day, never to grieve himſelf with what God had 'done, but meekly to ſay, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath "taken away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord."—And here I 'would have you, good Mrs. Carr, to conſider, how ſmall cauſe

'you

He uſed to interpoſe likewiſe in all acts of oppreſſion; and his authority was ſuch, that it generally put a ſtop to them.

A perſon

'you have to mourn, or fall into a deep ſorrow, in compariſon
'of the holy patriarch. God hath taken from you only one young
'daughter, and hath left you a goodly family of children, which,
'I truſt, with good education, will prove a bleſſed comfort to
'you.—This example of Job and other examples in holy ſcrip-
'ture, being written (as the apoſtle ſaith) for our admonition,
'I muſt needs declare you to be worthy of great blame, if you
'continue any ſpace in ſuch great ſorrow and heavineſs, as I
'hear you take for your young daughter. St. Peter ſaith, that
'Chriſt Jeſus ſuffered for us moſt cruel torments, and laſt of all
'a moſt cruel death, "to leave us an example, that all that be-
"lieve in him ſhould follow his bleſſed ſteps:" that is, to bear
'his croſs, to be armed with all patience, whenſoever we loſe
'any thing that we love in this world. And the ſame apoſtle
'ſaith, "Seeing Chriſt hath ſuffered for us in his body, all you
"that are chriſtians muſt be armed with the ſame thought."—
'Furthermore the ſcripture ſaith, that unto us it is given not
'only to believe in Chriſt, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. And St.
'Paul, in the 8th to the Romans, hath a moſt comfortable ſen-
'tence to all that will learn to ſuffer with him; and a moſt fear-
'ful ſentence to all thoſe that refuſe to ſuffer with him, and to
'bear his croſs; "The ſpirit, ſaith he, beareth witneſs with our
"ſpirit, that we are the children of God; and if children, then
"heirs, heirs of God, and fellow-heirs with Chriſt;" (it fol-
'loweth) if ſo be that we ſuffer together with him, that we may
"alſo be glorified with him." And St. Paul, in the firſt chap-
'ter of the ſecond to the Corinthians, ſaith to all the faithful,
"As ye are companions of thoſe things, which Chriſt hath ſuf-
"fered, ſo ſhall ye be companions of his conſolations."—All
'theſe things conſidered, I doubt not, good Mrs. Carr, but
'that

A perſon againſt whom the country at that time exclaimed very much, was one Mr. Barns, a near relation, if not a brother of Dr. Barns, biſhop of Durham, who raiſed him through ſome inferior poſts to the chancellorſhip of his dioceſe. Between this man and Mr. Gilpin there was a perpetual oppoſition for many years; the latter endeavouring to counteract the former, and to be the redreſſer of thoſe injuries, of which he was the author. Several traces of theſe conteſts

' that you will arm yourſelf with patience, and bear Chriſt's croſs, ' learning to ſuffer for his ſake, and that, were it a greater loſs ' than you have, God be praiſed, as yet ſuſtained.—Let your faith ' overcome your ſorrow. St. Paul writing to the Theſſalonians ' concerning the dead (who, he ſaith, have but fallen aſleep) ' forbiddeth them not to mourn, but utterly forbiddeth them to ' mourn like gentiles, and infidels, who have no hope in Chriſt. ' And the wiſe man (Eccluſ. xxii.) doth exhort us to mourn o- ' ver the dead, ſo it be but for a little ſpace; "Weep, ſaith he, " for the dead, but only for a little time, becauſe they are gone " to their reſt." So you ſee there is an unreaſonable mourning of ' them that want faith; and there is alſo a temperate and lawful ' mourning of them that have a ſtedfaſt belief in Chriſt, and his ' promiſes, "which (St. John ſaith) overcometh all the temp- " tations (that is, the troubles) of the world." I truſt verily, ' good Mrs. Carr, that your mourning being temperate will ſhew ' itſelf to be a faithful, not a faithleſs mourning; which latter I ' pray almighty God to keep from you.—But I fear to be tedious. ' I truſt one day I ſhall be able to come unto you myſelf. In ' the mean ſpace, and evermore, I ſhall pray that the God of all ' conſolation may comfort you in all your troubles. Your lov- ' ing friend in Chriſt,

Houghton,
may, 31, 1583. ' BERNARD GILPIN.'

teſts ſtill remain among Mr. Gilpin's papers; from which it appears what a conſtant check upon his deſigns Mr. Barns found him; though he was always treated in a mild, and even affectionate manner. 'It will be 'but a very few years, Mr. Gilpin tells him, (concluding a letter written in favour of three orphans, whom Mr. Barns had defrauded of their patrimony) 'before 'you and I muſt give up our great accounts. I pray 'God give us both the grace to have them in a con-'ſtant readineſs. And may you take what I have writ-'ten in as friendly a manner as it is meant. My daily 'prayers are made for you to almighty God, whom I 'beſeech evermore to preſerve you.'

Thus he lived in his pariſh, careful only to diſcharge his duty: no fatigue or difficulty could excuſe him to himſelf for the omiſſion of any part of it: the religious improvement of his people was his principal endeavour, and the ſucceſs of this endeavour his principal happineſs.

Notwithſtanding however all this painful induſtry, and the large ſcope it had in ſo extended a pariſh, he thought the ſphere of his labours yet too confined. It grieved him to ſee every where in the pariſhes around him ſo much ignorance and ſuperſtition; occaſioned by the very great neglect of the paſtoral care in thoſe parts. How ill ſupplied the northern churches at this time were, hath already been obſerved; and will ſtill appear in a ſtronger light, if we compare the ſtate of theſe churches with that of thoſe in the ſouthern parts of the iſland, which

which were univerſally allowed to have been leſs neglected. Of one dioceſe, that of Ely, where the clergy do not appear to have been uncommonly remiſs, we have a curious account ſtill preſerved: it contained one hundred and fifty-ſix pariſhes; of which forty-ſeven had no miniſters at all, fifty-ſeven were in the hands of careleſs non-reſidents, and only the remaining fifty-two were regularly ſerved.

The very bad conſequences ariſing from this ſhameful remiſſneſs among the clergy, induced Mr. Gilpin to ſupply, as far as he could, what was wanting in others. Every year therefore he uſed regularly to viſit the moſt neglected pariſhes in Northumberland, Yorkſhire, Cheſhire, Weſtmorland, and Cumberland: and that his own pariſh, in the mean time might not ſuffer, he had a conſtant aſſiſtant. In each place he ſtayed two or three days, and his method was, to call the people about him, and lay before them, in as plain a way as poſſible, the danger of leading wicked and careleſs lives—explaining to them the nature of true religion—inſtructing them in the duties they owed to God, their neighbour, and themſelves—and ſhewing them how greatly a religious conduct would contribute to their preſent as well as future happineſs.

When a preacher, though the mereſt rhapſodiſt, ſeems to ſpeak from his heart, what he ſays will be liſtened to. The appearance of his being truly in earneſt, will diſpoſe men at leaſt to give him a fair hearing. Hence Mr. Gilpin, who had all the warmth of an enthuſiaſt, though under the direction of a very calm

calm judgment, never wanted an audience even in the wildeſt parts; where he rouſed many to a ſenſe of religion, who had contracted the moſt inveterate habits of inattention.

One thing he practiſed, which ſhewed the beſt-diſpoſed heart. Where ever he came, he uſed to viſit the jails and places of confinement, (few in the kingdom having at that time any appointed miniſter;) and by his labours, and affectionate manner of behaving, he is ſaid to have reformed many very abandoned perſons in thoſe places. He would employ his intereſt likewiſe for ſuch criminals, whoſe caſes he thought attended with any hard circumſtances, and often procured pardons for them.

There is a tract of country upon the border of Northumberland, called Reads-dale and Tine-dale; of all barbarous places in the north, at that time the moſt barbarous. The following diſcription of this wild country we have from Mr. Camden:

'At Walwick north Tine croſſes the Roman wall. 'It riſes in the mountains on the borders of England 'and Scotland; and firſt running eaſtward, waters 'Tine-dale, which hath thence its name, and after-'wards embracing the river Read, which falling from 'the ſteep hill of Readſquire, where the lord-wardens 'of the eaſtern marches uſed to determine the diſputes 'of the borderers, gives its name to a valley, too thinly 'inhabited, by reaſon of the frequent robberies com-'mitted there. Both theſe dales breed notable bogtrot-'ters, and have ſuch boggy-topped mountains, as are

'not

'not to be croſſed by ordinary horſemen. We wonder to 'ſee ſo many heaps of ſtones in them, which the neigh-'bourhood believe to be thrown together in memory 'of ſome perſons there ſlain. There are alſo in both of 'them many ruins of old forts.' The Umfranvils held 'Reads-dale, as doomſday-book informs us, in fee 'and knight's ſervice for guarding the dale from rob-'beries. All over theſe waſtes you ſee, as it were, the 'antient Nomades, a martial people, who from april 'to auguſt lie in little tents, which they call ſheals or 'ſhealings, here and there diſperſed among their flocks.'

Before the union this country was generally called the debateable land, as ſubject by turns to England and Scotland, and the common theatre where the two nations were continually acting a variety of bloody ſcenes. It was inhabited, as Mr. Camden hath juſt informed us, by a kind of deſperate banditti, rendered fierce and active by conſtant alarms. They lived by theft; uſed to plunder on both ſides of the barrier, and what they plundered on one, they expoſed to ſale on the other; by that evaſion eſcaping juſtice. Such adepts were they in the art of thieving, that they could twiſt a cow's horn, or mark a horſe, ſo as its owners could not know it; and ſo ſubtle, that no vigilance could guard againſt them. For theſe arts they were long afterwards famous. A perſon telling king James a ſurprizing ſtory of a cow that had been driven from the north of Scotland into the ſouth of England, and eſcaping from the herd had found her way home; 'The moſt ſurprizing part of the ſtory, the king replied, you lay leaſt ſtreſs on,

on, that ſhe paſſed unſtolen through the debateable land.'

In this dreadful country, where no man would even travel that could help it, Mr. Gilpin never failed to ſpend ſome part of every year. He generally choſe the holidays of Chriſtmas for his journey, becauſe he found the people at that ſeaſon moſt diſengaged, and moſt eaſily aſſembled. He had ſet places for preaching, which were as regularly attended, as the aſſize-towns of a circuit. If he came where there was a church, he made uſe of it: if not, of barns, or any other large building; where great crouds of people were ſure to attend him, ſome for his inſtructions, and others for his charity.

This was a very difficult and laborious employment. The badneſs of the weather and the badneſs of the roads through a mountainous country, and at that ſeaſon covered with ſnow, expoſed him often to great hardſhips. Sometimes he was overtaken by the night, (the country being in many places deſolate for ſeveral miles together,) and, as the biſhop of Chicheſter relates, obliged to lodge in the cold: at ſuch times he would make his ſervant ride about with his horſes, whilſt himſelf on foot uſed as much exerciſe as his age and the fatigues of the preceding day would permit.—All this he chearfully underwent; eſteeming ſuch ſufferings well compenſated by the advantages which he hoped might accrue from them to his uninſtructed fellow-creatures.

Our

Our Saxon anceſtors had a great averſion to the tedious forms of law. They choſe rather to determine their diſputes in a more conciſe manner, pleading generally with their ſwords. 'Let every diſpute be decid-'ed by the ſword,' was a Saxon law. A piece of ground was deſcribed, and covered with mats: here the plaintiff and defendant tried their cauſe. If either of them was driven from this boundary, he was obliged to redeem his life by three marks. He whoſe blood firſt ſtained the ground, loſt his ſuit.*

This cuſtom ſtill prevailed on the borders, where Saxon barbariſm held its lateſt poſſeſſion. Theſe wild Northumbrians indeed went beyond the ferocity of their anceſtors. They were not content with a duel: each contending party uſed to muſter what adherents he could, and commence a kind of petty war.† So that a private grudge would often occaſion much bloodſhed.

* See Spelman, Nicholſon, and other enquirers into the antiquities of thoſe times.

† The people of this country have had one very barbarous cuſtom among them. If any two be diſpleaſed, they expect no law, but bang it out bravely, one and his kindred againſt the other and his. They will ſubject themſelves to no juſtice, but in an inhuman and barbarous manner fight and kill one another. They run together in clans, as they term it, or names. This fighting they call their deadly feides. Of late, ſince the union of both kingdoms, this heatheniſh cuſtom is repreſſed, and good laws made againſt ſuch barbarous and unchriſtian miſdemeanours. Survey of Newcaſtle, Harleyan miſcellany, vol. 3.

It happened that a quarrel of this kind was on foot, when Mr. Gilpin was at Rothbury. During the two or three firſt days of his preaching, the contending parties obſerved ſome decorum, and never appeared at church together. At length however they met. One party had been early at church, and juſt as Mr. Gilpin began his ſermon, the other entered. They ſtood not long ſilent. Inflamed at the ſight of each other, they begin to claſh their weapons, for they were all armed with javelins and ſwords, and mutually approach. Awed however by the ſacredneſs of the place, the tumult in ſome degree ceaſed. Mr. Gilpin proceeded: when again the combatants began to brandiſh their weapons, and draw towards each other. As a fray ſeemed near, Mr. Gilpin ſtepped from the pulpit, went between them, and addreſſing the leaders, put an end to the quarrel for the preſent; but could not effect an entire reconciliation. They promiſed however, that till the ſermon was over, they would make no more diſturbance. He then went again into the pulpit, and ſpent the reſt of the time in endeavouring to make them aſhamed of what they had done. His behaviour and diſcourſe affected them ſo much, that at his farther entreaty, they promiſed to forbear all acts of hoſtility, while he continued in the country. And ſo much reſpected was he among them, that whoever was in fear of his enemy, or, in the uſual phraſe, of his deadly foe, uſed to reſort where Mr. Gilpin was, eſteeming his preſence the beſt protection.

One ſunday morning coming to a church in thoſe parts before the people were aſſembled, he obſerved a glove hanging up, and was informed by the ſexton, that it

it was meant as a challenge to any one that ſhould take it down. Mr. Gilpin ordered the ſexton to reach it to him; but upon his utterly refuſing to touch it, he took it down himſelf, and put it in his breaſt. When the people were aſſembled, he went into the pulpit; and before he concluded his ſermon, took occaſion to rebuke them ſeverely for theſe inhuman challenges. 'I hear, ſaith he, that one among you hath hanged up a glove even in this ſacred place, threatening to fight any one who taketh it down: ſee, I have taken it down;' and pulling out the glove, he held it up to the congregation; and then ſhewed them how unſuitable ſuch ſavage practices were to the profeſſion of chriſtianity; uſing ſuch perſuaſives to mutual love, as he thought would moſt affect them.

The diſintereſted pains he thus took among theſe barbarous people, and the good offices he was always ready to do them, drew from them the ſincereſt expreſſions of gratitude. Indeed he was little leſs that adored, and might have brought the whole country almoſt to what he pleaſed.—How greatly his name was revered among them one inſtance will ſhew.

By the careleſſneſs of his ſervant, his horſes were one day ſtolen. The news was quickly propagated, and every one expreſſed the higheſt indignation at the fact. The thief was rejoicing over his prize, when by the report of the country he found whoſe horſes he had taken. Terrified at what he had done, he inſtantly came trembling back, confeſſed the fact, returned the horſes, and declared he believed the devil would have

ſeized him directly, had he carried them off, knowing them to have been Mr. Gilpin's.

Thus I have brought together what particulars remain of this excellent man's behaviour as a miniſter of the goſpel. They diſcover ſo very good a heart, ſo ſtrong a ſenſe of duty, and ſo ſtrict a regard to it in every inſtance, as would have been admired even in primitive times: the corruptions now prevailing may perhaps make their truth queſtionable; but they are all either taken from his life written by the biſhop of Chicheſter, or from papers of undoubted authority.*— His own teſtimony to what hath been ſaid ſhall be ſubjoined in the following extract.

'I am at preſent,' ſays he, (apologizing to a friend) 'much charged with buſineſs, or rather overcharged. 'I am firſt greatly burdened about ſeeing the lands 'made ſure to the ſchool; which are not ſo yet, and 'are in great danger to be loſt, if God ſhould call me 'afore they are aſſured. Moreover I have aſſigned to 'preach twelve ſermons at other pariſhes, beſide my 'own; and likewiſe am earneſtly looked for at a num-'ber of pariſhes in Northumberland, more than I can 'viſit. Beſide, I am continually encumbered with 'many gueſts and acquaintance, whom I may not well 'refuſe. And often I am called upon by many of my 'pariſhioners, to ſet them at one, when they cannot 'agree. And every day I am ſore charged and trou-'bled

* Theſe papers were lent to the author by the late worthy rector of Houghton, Dr. Stonhewer; and are ſtill probably preſerved in the parſonage houſe.

'bled with many ſervants and workfolks, which is no 'ſmall trouble to me; for the buildings and reparations 'in this wide houſe will never have an end.'

I ſhall conclude this ſection with an inſtance of that reſolution and ſpirit, which on each proper occaſion he failed not to exert; and by which he always maintained that independency and real dignity, which became his ſtation.

He received a meſſage one day from Dr. Barns, biſhop of Durham, appointing him to preach a viſitation ſermon the ſunday following. It happened he was then preparing for his journey into Reads-dale and Tine-dale; and acquainted the biſhop with the neceſſity of his keeping that appointment, begging his lordſhip would at that time excuſe him. His ſervant informed him that the biſhop had received his meſſage, but returned no anſwer. Concluding him therefore ſatisfied, he ſet out on his journey: but to his great ſurprize, when he came home, he found himſelf ſuſpended; ſome perſons, through enmity to him, having put the biſhop upon this haſty ſtep. A few days after he received an order to meet the biſhop at Cheſter, a town in the dioceſe of Durham, where the biſhops of that ſee formerly reſided. Here many of the clergy were aſſembled, and Mr. Gilpin was ordered by the biſhop to preach that day before them. He made his apology; He had come wholly unprepared—beſides he was ſuſpended, and thereby excluded from the pulpit. The biſhop anſwered, he took off his ſuſpenſion. But Mr. Gilpin ſtill begged to be excuſed---he had brought no

ſermon

ſermon with him, and hoped none would be required from him. But the biſhop would take no excuſe; telling him, that as he had been a preacher ſo long, he muſt be able to ſay enough to the purpoſe without any previous meditation. Mr. Gilpin perſiſting in his refuſal, the biſhop at length grew warm, and required him upon his canonical obedience to go immediately into the pulpit. After a little delay therefore he went up; and though he obſerved ſeveral taking notes of what he ſaid, he proceeded without the leaſt heſitation.

The eccleſiaſtical court of Durham was at this time very ſcandalouſly governed. That Mr. Barns preſided over it, who hath already been mentioned; and who made it indeed little better than an office for granting indulgences. The biſhop was a well-meaning, weak man; irreſolute, and wholly in the hands of others. Every thing was managed by his relation the chancellor; whoſe venality, and the irregularities occaſioned by it, were moſt notorious.

The opportunity now afforded him Mr. Gilpin thought no unfavourable one to open the biſhop's eyes; and induce him to exert himſelf where there was ſo great reaſon for it. Private information had often been given him without any ſucceſs: Mr. Gilpin was now reſolved therefore to venture upon a public application to him. Accordingly, before he concluded his ſermon, he turned towards the biſhop, to whom he thus addreſſed himſelf.

'My diſcourſe now, reverend father, muſt be directed to you. God hath exalted you to be the biſhop of this dioceſe, and requireth an account of your government thereof. A reformation of all thoſe matters which are amiſs in this church, is expected at your hands. And now, leſt perhaps, while it is apparent, that ſo many enormities are committed every where, your lordſhip ſhould make anſwer, that you had no notice of them given you, and that theſe things never came to your knowledge,' for this it ſeems was the biſhop's common apology to all complainants, 'behold I bring theſe things to your knowledge this day. Say not then that theſe crimes have been committed by the fault of others without your knowledge; for whatever either yourſelf ſhall do in perſon, or ſuffer through your connivance to be done by others, is wholly your own. Therefore in the preſence of God, his angels, and men, I pronounce you to be the author of all theſe evils: yea, and in that ſtrict day of the general account, I will be a witneſs to teſtify againſt you, that all theſe things have come to your knowledge by my means: and all theſe men ſhall bear witneſs thereof, who have heard me ſpeak unto you this day.'

This freedom alarmed every one. As Mr. Gilpin went out of the church, his friends gathered round him, kindly reproaching him for what he had done—'The biſhop had now got that advantage over him which he had long ſought after——and if he had injured him before without provocation, what would he do now, ſo greatly exaſperated?' Mr. Gilpin walked on, gently keeping them

them off with his hand, and aſſuring them, that if his diſcourſe ſhould do the ſervice he intended by it, he was regardleſs what the conſequence might be to himſelf.

During that day nothing elſe was talked of. Every one commended what had been ſaid, but was apprehenſive for the ſpeaker. Thoſe about the biſhop waited in ſilent expectation, when his reſentment would break out.

After dinner Mr. Gilpin went up to the biſhop, to pay his compliments to him, before he went home. 'Sir, ſaid the biſhop, I propoſe to wait upon you home myſelf.'—This he accordingly did: and as ſoon as Mr. Gilpin had carried him into a parlour, the biſhop turned ſuddenly round, and ſeizing him eagerly by the hand, 'Father Gilpin, ſays he to him, I acknowledge you are fitter to be the biſhop of Durham than I am to be parſon of this church of yours.—I aſk forgiveneſs for paſt injuries—Forgive me, father.---I know you have enemies; but while I live biſhop of Durham, be ſecure, none of them ſhall cauſe you any further trouble.'

SEC.

SECTION VIII.

THOUGH Mr. Gilpin was chiefly ſolicitous about the morals of thoſe committed to his care, he omitted not however to promote, as far as he could, their temporal happineſs. What wealth he had, was entirely laid out in charity and hoſpitality.

The value of his living was about four hundred pounds a year: an income which, however conſiderable at that time, was yet in appearance very unproportionate to the generous things he did: indeed he could not have done them, unleſs his frugality had been equal to his generoſity.

In building a ſchool, and purchaſing lands for the maintenance of a maſter and uſher, he expended above five hundred pounds. As there was ſo great a reſort of young people to this ſchool, that in a little time the town was not able to accommodate them, he put himſelf to the inconvenience of fitting up a part of his own houſe for that purpoſe, where he ſeldom had fewer than twenty or thirty children. Some of theſe were the ſons of perſons of diſtinction, whom he boarded at eaſy rates: but the greater part were poor children, who could not ſo eaſily get themſelves boarded in the town; and whom he not only educated, but cloathed and maintained: he was at the expence likewiſe of boarding in the town many

ny other poor children. He uſed to bring ſeveral every year from the different parts where he preached, particularly Reads-dale and Tine-dale; which places he was at great pains in civilizing, and contributed not a little towards rooting out that barbariſm, which every year prevailed leſs among them.

For the maintenance of poor ſcholars at the univerſities, he yearly ſet apart ſixty pounds. This ſum he always laid out, often more. His common allowance to each ſcholar was about ten pounds a year: which for a ſober youth was at that time a very ſufficient maintenance: ſo that he never maintained fewer than ſix. By his will it appears, that at his death he had nine upon his liſt; whom he took care to provide for during their ſtay at the univerſity.

Every thurſday throughout the year a very large quantity of meat was dreſſed wholly for the poor; and every day they had what quantity of broth they wanted. Twenty-four of the pooreſt were his conſtant penſioners. Four times in the year a dinner was provided for them, when they received from his ſteward a certain quantity of corn, and a ſum of money: and at Chriſtmas they had always an ox divided among them.

Wherever he heard of any in diſtreſs, whether of his own pariſh, or any other, he was ſure to relieve them. In his walks abroad he would frequently bring home with him poor people, and ſend them away cloathed as well as fed.

He took great pains to inform himſelf of the circumſtances of his neighbours, that the modeſty of the ſufferer might not prevent his relief.

But the money beſt laid out was, in his opinion, that which encouraged induſtry. It was one of his greateſt pleaſures to make up the loſſes of his laborious neighbours, and prevent their ſinking under them. If a poor man had loſt a beaſt, he would ſend him another in its room: or if any farmer had had a bad year, he would make him an abatement in his tithes.—Thus, as far as he was able, he took the misfortunes of his pariſh upon himſelf; and like a true ſhepherd expoſed himſelf for his flock.

But of all kinds of induſtrious poor, he was moſt forward to aſſiſt thoſe who had large families; ſuch never failed to meet with his bounty, when they wanted to ſettle their children in the world.

In the diſtant pariſhes where he preached, as well as in his own neighbourhood, his generoſity and benevolence were continually ſhewing themſelves; particularly in the deſolate parts of Northumberland: 'When 'he began his journey, ſays an old manuſcript life of 'him, he would have ten pounds in his purſe; and at 'his coming home he would be twenty nobles in debt, 'which he would always pay within a fortnight after.' —In the jails he viſited, he was not only careful to give the priſoners proper inſtructions, but uſed to purchaſe for them likewiſe what neceſſaries they wanted.

Even

Even upon the public road he never let ſlip an opportunity of doing good. Often has he been known to take off his cloak, and give it to an half naked traveller: and when he has had ſcarce money enough in his pocket to provide himſelf a dinner, yet would he give away part of that little, or the whole, if he found any who ſeemed to ſtand in need of it.—Of this benevolent temper the following inſtance is preſerved. One day returning home, he ſaw in a field ſeveral people crouding together; and judging that ſomething more than ordinary had happened, he rode up to them, and found that one of the horſes in a team had ſuddenly dropped down, which they were endeavouring to raiſe; but in vain, for the horſe was dead. The owner of it ſeeming much dejected with his misfortune, and declaring how grievous a loſs it was to him, Mr. Gilpin bad him not be diſheartened; 'I'll let you have, ſays he, honeſt man, that horſe of mine,' and pointed to his ſervant's. —Ah! maſter, replied the countryman, my pocket will not reach ſuch a beaſt as that.'—'Come, come, ſaid Mr. Gilpin, take him, take him; and when I demand my money, then thou ſhalt pay me.'

His hoſpitable manner of living was the admiration of the whole country. He ſpent in his family every fortnight, forty buſhels of corn, twenty buſhels of malt, and a whole ox; beſides a proportional quantity of other kinds of proviſion.

Strangers and travellers found a chearful reception. All were welcome that came; and even their beaſts had

ſo

ſo much care taken of them, that it was humourouſly ſaid, 'If a horſe was turned looſe in any part of the country, it would immediately make its way to the rector of Houghton's.'

Every ſunday from Michaelmas till Eaſter, was a ſort of a public day with him. During this ſeaſon he expected to ſee all his pariſhioners and their families. For their reception he had three tables well covered: the firſt was for gentlemen, the ſecond for huſbandmen and farmers, and the third for day-labourers.—This piece of hoſpitality he never omitted, even when loſſes, or a ſcarcity of proviſion, made its continuance rather difficult to him. He thought it his duty, and that was a deciding motive. 'If you ſhould, as you threaten, '(ſays he in a letter to his old enemy chancellor 'Barns) give out a ſequeſtration of my benefice, you 'ſhall do me a greater favour than you are aware of. 'For at this time I am run in no ſmall debt. I want 'likewiſe proviſion of victuals. Where I have had againſt 'Michaelmas ſix or ſeven fat oxen, and five or ſix fat 'cows, I have now neither cow nor ox, but muſt ſeek 'all from the ſhambles. A ſequeſtration given out, I 'may with honeſty break up houſe for a ſpace, which 'will ſave me twenty or thirty pounds in my purſe. 'But I truſt you will think better of this matter.'

'Theſe times, (ſays he, in another letter) make 'me ſo tired of houſe-keeping, that I would I were diſ-'charged from it, if it could be with a clear conſci-'ence.'

Even

Even when he was abſent, no alteration was made in his family-expences: the poor was fed as uſual, and his neighbours entertained.

He was always glad of the company of men of worth and letters, who uſed much to frequent his houſe. This ſociable temper led him into a very large acquaintance; which, as he could not ſelect his company, became very inconvenient to him when he grew old.

I ſhall cloſe this account of his manner of living with a ſtory, which does no little honour to his houſe-keeping.

Some affairs in Scotland obliging queen Elizabeth to ſend thither her treaſurer, the lord Burleigh, he reſolved to take the opportunity of his return to pay a viſit to Mr. Gilpin. Hurried as he was, he could not reſiſt the deſire of ſeeing a man, whoſe name was every where ſo reſpectfully mentioned. His free diſcourſe from the pulpit to king Edward's court, had early recommended him to this noble perſon; ſince which time the great diſtance between them had wholly interrupted their acquaintance. The treaſurer's return was ſo ſudden, that he had not time to give any notice of his intended viſit. But the œconomy of ſo plentiful a houſe as Mr. Gilpin's was not eaſily diſconcerted. He received his noble gueſt with ſo much true politeneſs, and treated him and his whole retinue in ſo affluent and generous a manner, that the treaſurer would often afterwards

wards ſay, 'He could hardly have expected more at Lambeth.' While lord Burleigh ſtayed at Houghton, he took great pains by his own, and the obſervation of his domeſtics, to acquaint himſelf with the order and regularity with which every thing in that houſe was managed. It contained a very large family; and was beſides continually crouded with perſons of all kinds, gentlemen, ſcholars, workmen, farmers, and poor people: yet there was never any confuſion; every one was immediately carried into proper apartments, and entertained, directed, or relieved, as his particular buſineſs required. It could not but pleaſe this wiſe lord, who was ſo well acquainted with the effects of order and regularity in the higheſt ſphere, to obſerve them in this humble one. Here too he ſaw true ſimplicity of manners, and every ſocial virtue regulated by exact prudence. The ſtateſman began to unbend, and he could not without an envious eye, compare the unquiet ſcenes of vice and vanity in which he was engaged, with the calmneſs of this amiable retreat. At length with reluctance he took his leave; and with all the warmth of affection embracing his much reſpected friend, he told him, 'He had heard great things in his commendation, but he had now ſeen what far exceeded all that he had heard. If, added he, Mr. Gilpin, I can ever be of any ſervice to you at court, or elſewhere, uſe me with all freedom as one you may depend on.' When he had mounted Rainton-hill, which riſes about a mile from Houghton, and commands the vale, he turned his horſe to take one more view of the place: and having kept his eye fixed upon it for ſome time, his reverie broke out into this exclamation:

clamation: 'There is the enjoyment of life indeed!—who can blame that man for not accepting a biſhopric!—what doth he want to make him greater, or happier, or more uſeful to mankind!'

SEC-

SECTION IX.

THE laſt buſineſs in which Mr. Gilpin engaged, was the ſettlement of his ſchool. It anſwered his expectations ſo well by the good it did in the country, that when he grew old, it became his chief concern. His infirmities obliged him now to relax a little from thoſe very great fatigues he had undergone abroad, and to draw his engagements nearer home. His ſchool, ſituated near his houſe, afforded him, when moſt infirm, an employment; and he thought he could hardly die in peace till he had ſettled it to his mind. What he had principally at heart, was to compoſe a ſet of good ſtatutes, to provide it a better endowment, and to fix all by a charter.

As to the ſtatutes, he was daily employed in correcting, adding to, and altering, thoſe he had drawn up; adviſing with his friends, and doing all in his power to prevent any future abuſe of his charity.

With regard to a better endowment, it was not indeed in his own power to do any thing more. His exhibitions, his other charities, and his generous manner of living, made yearly ſuch large demands upon him, which increaſed as he grew old, that it became then impoſſible for him to lay up any thing. He would gladly have contracted his hoſpitality, which he thought his leaſt uſe-

ful expence; but when he conſidered, that he might probably by that means loſe much of the eſteem of the people, he could not prevail with himſelf to do it. Thus unable to do any thing more from his own purſe, he turned his eyes upon his friends.

There was a gentleman in his neighbourhood, John Heath, eſquire, of Kepier, with whom Mr. Gilpin had lived for many years in great intimacy. He was a man of uncommon worth, was maſter of a plentiful fortune, and had an inclination to put it to the beſt uſes. He was beſides a man of letters, and an encourager of learning. To this gentleman Mr. Gilpin applied in favour of his ſchool: Mr. Heath came with great readineſs into the ſcheme propoſed to him, and doubled the original endowment. Mr. Gilpin prevailed upon ſome others likewiſe to contribute their aſſiſtance, ſo that the revenues of the ſchool became at length anſwerable to his wiſhes.

Having thus obtained a ſufficient endowment, he began next to think of a charter. For this he applied to his friend the earl of Bedford; from whom are preſerved the two following letters on that ſubject.

To my very loving friend Mr. Bernard Gilpin.

'After my hearty commendations: I have received 'your letter of the 11th of laſt month; and beſides the 'good news of your health, am glad alſo to hear of your 'well-doing in thoſe parts, which want ſuch men as you 'to call the rude ſort to the knowledge and continuance

'of

'of their duties towards God, and their prince; where-
'of there is great lack.—Concerning your ſuit moved
'at Windſor, the troubles that have ſince happened have
'been ſo many and ſo great, that no convenient time
'hath ſerved to proſecute the ſame; and the bill given
'in, I doubt, is loſt. So that for more ſurety, it were
'good you ſent up another copy: and I will do my
'beſt endeavours to bring it to paſs. I will likewiſe do
'what I can to get ſome of thoſe county forfeitures to
'be granted by her majeſty, for the furtherance of your
'good purpoſe—Here is no news to write to you: as
'for things in the north, you have them there: and
'albeit it hath been ſaid, that a peace is concluded in
'France, yet it is not ſo.—And ſo wiſhing your health
'and well to do, I do hereby thank you for your gentle
'letter, and ſo commit you to God. Your aſſured friend,

London, may 3. 1570. 'F. BEDFORD.'

'After my very hearty commendations: hoping in
'God you are in good health, who as he hath well be-
'gun in you, ſo may he keep and continue you a good
'member in his church.—I have moved the queen's
'majeſty for your ſchool; and afterwards the bill was
'delivered to Mr. ſecretary Walſingham, a very good
'and godly gentleman, who procured the ſame to
'be ſigned, as I think you have before this heard by
'your brother. Aſſuredly you did very well and honeſtly
'therein, and have deſerved great commendations: a
'thing moſt neceſſary in thoſe parts is this of all other,
'for the well-bringing up of youth, and training them

'in learning and goodneſs.—In any thing that I may 'ſtand you in ſtead, I pray you be bold to uſe me, 'whom you may aſſure yourſelf to remain ready to do 'you any good that I can.—So for this time I com-'mend you to God. Your aſſured friend,

'F. BEDFORD.'

Ruſſel-place, march 26.
1571.

One of Mr. Gilpin's laſt good actions, was his endeavour to convert a young jeſuit. A friend of his, Mr. Geniſon of Newcaſtle, had taken into his houſe a brother's ſon, who having been ſome time in Italy, and there inveigled by the jeſuits, who were then growing into repute, had been taken into their order. His time of diſcipline being over, he was ſent into England, whither he brought with him the zeal of a novice. His uncle, a man of plain good ſenſe, being greatly afflicted that his nephew was not only become a papiſt, but a jeſuit, ſaid what he could to recover him from his errors. But the young man had his diſtinctions too ready to be influenced by his uncle's arguments. The old gentleman therefore not knowing what to do with him himſelf, at length thought of Mr. Gilpin. To him he wrote, and earneſtly intreated him, if he had any friendſhip for him, to try what impreſſion he could make upon his nephew. Mr. Gilpin had little hopes of ſucceſs from what he had heard of the young man's character; and ſtill leſs when he ſaw him. He was naturally very full of himſelf, and this turn his education had increaſed. Inſtead of examining attentively what was ſaid, and giving pertinent anſwers, he was ſtill running from

From the point, advancing his own tenets, and defending them by ſtrained interpretations of ſcripture, and the groſſeſt miſapplication of it. The truth was, he wanted to ſignalize himſelf by making ſome eminent convert; and his vanity led him to expect, that he might bring over Mr. Gilpin. This was indeed his chief purpoſe in coming to Houghton. When he failed in this, he did what he could to corrupt the ſervants, and ſuch of the ſcholars and country people as came in his way. He became at length ſo very diſagreeable, that Mr. Gilpin was obliged to deſire his uncle to ſend for him again. His letter upon the occaſion diſcovers ſo much honeſty of heart, and ſo beautiful a ſimplicity of manners, that it deſerves very well to be inſerted.

'I truſt, ſir, you remember that when you firſt 'ſpake to me about your brother's ſon, your promiſe 'was, that I ſhould have a licence from the biſhop, 'for my warrant. But that is not done. Wherefore you 'muſt either get one yourſelf, or ſuffer me. For our 'curate and churchwardens are ſworn to preſent, if 'any be in the pariſh, which utterly refuſe to come to 'church. I only deſired him that he would come into 'the quire in the ſermon-time, but half an hour; which 'he utterly refuſed, and willed me to ſpeak no more of it. 'He is indeed fixed in his errors; and I have perceived 'by his talk, that his coming here was not to learn, but 'to teach: for thinking to find me half a papiſt, he 'truſted to win me over entirely. But whereas, I truſt 'in God, I have put him clearly from that hope; yet 'I ſtand in great danger, that he ſhall do much hurt in 'my houſe, or in the pariſh; for he cometh furniſhed

'with

'with all the learning of the hot college of jeſuits. 'They have found out, I perceive, certain expoſitions 'of the old teſtament, never heard of before, to prove 'the invocation of ſaints from Abraham, Iſaac, and 'Jacob. He will not grant that any thing hath been 'wrong in the church of Rome; the moſt abominable 'errors of indulgencies, pardons, falſe miracles, and 'falſe reliques, pilgrimages, and ſuch like, he can find 'them all in the goſpel; and will have them all to be 'good and holy.—For my part, I have determined 'myſelf otherwiſe: age and want of memory compel 'me to take my leave of this wretched world; and at 'this time of life not to ſtudy anſwers to ſuch trumpery, 'and new inventions; ſeeing I was never any diſputer 'in all my life. I truſt there be learned men enough 'in the univerſities, who will ſufficiently anſwer all 'that ever they can bring that is worth anſwering.— 'Wherefore, good Mr. Geniſon, ſeeing your couſin is 'fixed in his errors, as he plainly confeſſeth, help to eaſe 'me of this burthen, that I may with quietneſs apply 'to my vocation. I am ſent for to preach in divers places, 'but I cannot go from home, ſo long as he is here. 'People in theſe evil days are given to learn more ſu-'perſtition in a week, that true religion in ſeven years. '—But if notwithſtanding you are deſirous to have him 'tarry two or three weeks longer, I muſt needs have 'licence from the biſhop: whether you will get the 'ſame, or I muſt, I refer to your good pleaſure.—And 'ſo I pray God to preſerve you evermore. Your lov-'ing friend to his power,

'BERNARD GILPIN.'

Not-

Notwithſtanding what is ſaid in this letter, it ſeems probable, that Mr. Gilpin's arguments at length made ſome impreſſion upon the young man: for he entered afterwards into a ſerious diſpute in writing with him; which he would ſcarce have engaged in, unleſs the jeſuit had ſhewn greater willingneſs to diſcover truth, than what had yet appeared.

'As ſickneſs, ſores, and other troubles,' ſays Mr. Gilpin to him in a letter, 'would ſuffer me, I have an-'ſwered your objections out of St. Auſtin: and the chief 'of them, I truſt, are anſwered to the contentation of 'ſuch as are willing to ſtay their conſcience upon God 'and his word, and not upon man's vain inventions, 'wherein they ſhall find no reſt of conſcience, nor 'quietneſs of mind.—When leiſure will ſerve to finiſh 'the reſidue, I will ſend them unto you. In the mean 'time I pray God to illuminate your eyes with his 'heavenly light, and to guide your feet into the way 'of peace.'

In the latter part of his life, Mr. Gilpin went through his duty with great difficulty. His health was much impaired. The extreme fatigue he had undergone during ſo many years, had now quite broke his conſtitution. Thus he complains in a letter to a friend: 'To ſuſtain all theſe travels and troubles I have a ve-'ry weak body, ſubject to many diſeaſes; by the mo-'nitions whereof, I am daily warned to remember 'death. My greateſt grief of all is, that my memory 'is quite decayed: my ſight faileth; my hearing fail-eth;

'eth; with other ailments, more than I can well ex-'preſs.'

While he was thus ſtruggling with an advanced age, and impaired conſtitution, he met with an accident, which entirely deſtroyed his health. As he was croſſing the market-place at Durham, an ox ran at him, and puſhed him down with ſuch violence, that it was imagined the bruiſes he received would have occaſioned his death. He lay long confined; and though he again got abroad, he never recovered even the little ſtrength he had before, and continued lame as long as he lived. But accidents of this kind were no very formidable trials to a mind ſo well tempered as his. It was a perſuaſion he had long entertained, that misfortunes are intended by providence to remind us of our neglected duty: and thus he always uſed them, making ſelf-examination the conſtant attendant upon whatever calamities befel him. To this it was owing that he was never dejected by misfortunes; but received them rather with thankfulneſs than repining.

But ſickneſs was not the only diſtreſs which the declining years of this excellent man had to ſtruggle with. As age and infirmity began to leſſen that weight and influence he once had, the malice and oppoſition of his enemies of courſe prevailed more.

Of what frivolous pretences they availed themſelves, and with what temper he bore their malice, the following letters will ſhew better than any narrative.

'I am

'I am very ſorry, Mr. Wren, to hear that you ſhould 'fall into ſuch unlawful contention with any one; and 'that, to maintain an evil cauſe, you ſhould make an 'untrue report of me. I am very glad however that 'the two other falſe reports, if it be as you ſay, were 'not raiſed by you: one, that I ſhould make the mar-'riage of miniſters unlawful; the other, that I ſhould 'make their children baſtards. Whereas certainly it 'is known, that long ago I was accuſed before biſhop 'Tunſtal for ſpeaking in favour of prieſts marriage: 'ſince which time I have never altered my mind; but 'in my ſermons in this country, Northumberland, 'Weſtmorland, Cumberland, Yorkſhire, and Lanca-'ſhire, I have, as opportunity ſerved, ſpoken in de-'fence of prieſts marriage. And allowing their mar-'riage, I truſt no man will believe that I ſhould make 'their children baſtards.

'You ſay I am called hypocrite; I know I am ſo 'of divers. How they will anſwer God's law therein, 'I leave to their own conſcience. But verily for my 'own part I can thank them; for when I hear it, I truſt 'in God, I gain not a little thereby in ſtudying clearly 'to ſubdue that vice; which I have ſtrived againſt e-'ver ſince I ſtudied the holy ſcriptures. And I ſuppoſe 'very few or no preachers in England have preached 'oftener againſt that vice than I; and that, as I truſt, 'with a clear conſcience.

'But to make an end at this time (becauſe this bear-'er can ſhew you what ſmall time I have, being ſore overcharged

'overcharged with manifold ſtudies and buſineſſes) it is 'time, good Mr. Wren, both for you and me (age and 'ſundry diſeaſes, meſſengers of death, giving us warn-'ing) more deeply to rype our own conſciences, and 'more diligently to ſearch our own faults, and to leave 'off from curious hearkening and eſpying of other 'men's: eſpecially when it breedeth contention, and can 'in no wiſe edify. I pray you read St. James, the lat-'ter part of the 3d chapter, and there learn from whence 'cometh contentious wiſdom. And this, I beſeech you, 'remember, that it is not long ſince God did moſt 'mercifully viſit you with great ſickneſs. At that 'time I doubt not but you lamented ſore your duty 'forgotten in your life paſt: and for the time to come, 'if God would reſtore you to your health, I truſt you 'promiſed a godly repentance, and reformation of 'life. Good Mr. Wren, if you have ſome what forgot-'ten that godly mind, pray to God to bring it again; 'and being had, keep it. Pray in faith, and St. James 'ſaith, God will hear you; whom I beſeech ever-'more to have you in his bleſſed keeping. Your lov-'ing friend to his power,

'BERNARD GILPIN.'

'After my moſt hearty and due commendations; 'having heard that Sir William Mitchell, one of your 'brother's executors, reported evil of me in ſundry 'places, bruiting abroad, that I with-hold from him 'great ſums of money; and I know nothing wherefore, 'but for ſixteen books which I had of your brother, 'being to return either the price or the books again;

I heartily

'I heartily beſeech you, ſeeing that you are joined executor likewiſe, that you will let me know by this bearer, William Ayray, if you can find any thing in any writings or accounts of your brother, that can be lawfully demanded of me, and, God willing, it ſhall be paid or I be much elder. If, as I believe, I be debtor for nothing elſe, ſaving the ſixteen books, whereof I know no price, I have given this bearer, my ſervant, ſuch inſtructions, that he will either ſatisfy you, or I will make return of the books.—I pray almighty God to have you ever in his bleſſed keeping. Your loving friend to his power.

'BERNARD GILPIN.'

But of all his enemies the moſt active were Hugh Broughton, and chancellor Barns.

Broughton acted the baſeſt and moſt ungrateful part. Mr. Gilpin had educated and maintained him both at ſchool and at the univerſity, and had always ſhewn him every civility in his power. Yet this man was afterwards vile enough to endeavour to ſupplant the very patron who raiſed him. He had craftily inſinuated himſelf into the biſhop of Durham's favour, and thought he ſtood fair for the firſt vacant preferment; and as Houghton was then the beſt thing in the biſhop's gift, he had fixed his eye upon it. Mr. Gilpin was old and infirm, and in all probability could enjoy it but a very few years; yet Broughton had not patience to let him ſpend the remainder of his age in peace. He knew the biſhop was eaſily impoſed on, and found means to prejudice

prejudice him againſt Mr. Gilpin. To this was owing, as appeared afterwards, the affair of the ſuſpenſion already mentioned, and ſome other inſtances of the biſhop's diſpleaſure. But in the end poor Broughton had the mortification to ſee his indirect meaſures unravelled. The biſhop ſaw his error, was reconciled to Mr. Gilpin, and continued ever afterwards his ſteady friend: and Broughton finding himſelf neglected, left Durham to ſeek his fortune elſewhere.

Chancellor Barns was indeed a more generous, as he was an open enemy. Beſides, what he did, was in ſome meaſure in his own defence; for it muſt be owned Mr. Gilpin was very troubleſome to him in all his deſigns,* and generally made the firſt attack. After the affair at Cheſter however, the chancellor laid aſide all decency; and from that time, nothing in his power that was diſobliging was omitted. But his malice had no other effect, than to give Mr. Gilpin an opportunity of proving how well he had learned the chriſtian leſſons of meekneſs: though at the ſame time how becomingly he could exert a decent ſpirit, when it was needful; and ſhew, by tempering charity with his diſpleaſure, that he could be angry and yet not ſin. To this happy temper the following letters bear teſtimony.

'Right worſhipful, after my due commendations; 'theſe are to certify you, that my curate paying for me 'at the laſt viſitation forty ſix ſhillings, paid more than 'he ought to have done, by about a noble. As for the 'money, I ſpeak not: I pray God that it may do my lord

* See Section 7.

'lord much good. But I ſhould be very ſorry, that 'through my default it ſhould remain an everlaſting bur-'then to my ſucceſſors. Wherefore I beſeech you let 'it not be made a precedent; and for my time, if I live 'till the next viſitation, which I look not for, I will not 'refuſe to pay it no more than I do now, ſo that care 'be taken my ſucceſſors pay no more after me than that 'which is due, which I take to be four pence for every 'pound in the queen's majeſty's books.—But you ſay 'I muſt needs pay it, and my ſucceſſors alſo, becauſe 'it is found in a certain rate-book of biſhop Pilkington. 'As for that I am able to ſay, and I truſt I can bring 'witneſs, that biſhop Pilkington at his firſt viſitation 'clearly forgave me all the ſum, in conſideration, as 'I was told, of my travel in Northumberland; and 'after that, at his other two viſitations, I made no let, 'but ſuffered his officers juſt to take what they would. 'But my truſt is, that your worſhip will not burthen 'my ſucceſſors for this my ſimplicity or folly, term it 'which you will.—Seeing then that I have ſo much 'reaſon, they do me wrong who ſay I wrangled at the 'laſt viſitation: for God is my witneſs, I love not dif-'ferences of any kind.—I pray God to have you in his 'bleſſed keeping. Yours to his power,

'BERNARD GILPIN.'

'I marvel, Mr. Barns, that you ſhould uſe me in this 'manner, I ſeeking and ſtudying to uſe you well in all 'things.—About two or three years ago, at my lord's 'viſitation, when you took of others a groat in the 'pound (as you can take no more) you made me pay

above

'above my due; for the which, if I had ſought remedy 'by the ſtatute againſt extortion, I truſt the ſtatute 'would have ſtood for me.—After that, the ſubſidy be-'ing gathered, my ſervant, by overſight, not examin-'ing carefully the book, paid a certain ſum that was 'not due, I think it was about twenty ſhillings; but 'ſure I could never get it reſtored to this day.—Now 'you ſeek unjuſtly to charge my living for my curate; 'which ſeeing it hath never been demanded before, ſome 'will think you ſeek it for your own purſe. I pay un-'to the queen's majeſty (God ſave her grace) as duly, 'and with as good a will as any ſubject, twenty-three 'pounds, twelve ſhillings, by the year. But if you 'ſtill continue reſolved to charge me with this ſix 'pounds, I promiſe you, before I pay it, I will ſpend 'five marks in defence of my right.—But I truſt after 'good adviſement you will let this new ſuit drop. I 'pray God almighty to keep you ever-more. Your lo-'ving friend to his power,

'BERNARD GILPIN.'

This load of calumny, ingratitude, and ill uſage, may juſtly be ſuppoſed heavy upon him, already ſinking under a weight of years: yet he bore it with great fortitude; ſtrengthning himſelf with ſuch conſolations, as a good chriſtian hath in reſerve for all extremities.

His reſignation was not long exerciſed. About the beginning of february, in the year 1583, he found himſelf ſo very weak, that he was ſenſible his end muſt be drawing near. He told his friends his apprehenſions; and ſpoke of his death with that happy compoſure which always

always attends the concluſion of a good life. He was ſoon after confined to his chamber. His ſenſes continued perfect to the laſt. Of the manner of his taking leave of the world, we have this account.

A few day's before his death, he ordered himſelf to be raiſed in his bed; and ſending for ſeveral poor people, who had been his penſioners, he told them, he found he was going out of the world—he hoped they would be his witneſſes at the great day that he had endeavoured to do his duty among them—and he prayed God to remember them after he was gone—He would not have them weep for him: if ever he had told them any thing good, he would have them remember that in his ſtead.—Above all things, he exhorted them to fear God, and keep his commandments; telling them, if they would do this, they could never be left comfortleſs.

He next ordered his ſcholars to be called in: to theſe likewiſe he made a ſhort ſpeech, reminding them, that this was their time, if they had any deſire to qualify themſelves for being of uſe in the world—that learning was well worth their attention, but virtue was much more ſo.

He next exhorted his ſervants; and then ſent for ſeveral perſons, who had not heretofore profited by his advice, as he had wiſhed; and upon whom he imagined his dying words might have a better effect. His ſpeech began to falter before he finiſhed his exhortations.

ons. The remaining hours of his life he ſpent in prayer, and broken converſation with ſome ſelect friends, mentioning often the conſolations of chriſtianity—and declaring that nothing elſe could bring a man peace at the laſt. He died on the fourth of march 1583, in the 66th year of his age.

I ſhall conclude this account of him with a few obſervations upon his character; and ſome incidents, which could not properly be introduced in any part of the narration.

His perſon was tall and ſlender, in the ornament of which he was at no pains. He had a particular averſion to the fopperies of dreſs. In his diet he was very temperate, rather abſtemious.

His parts were very good. His imagination, memory, and judgment, were lively, retentive, and ſolid.

His acquirements were as conſiderable. By an unwearied application he had amaſſed a great ſtore of knowledge; and was ignorant of no part of learning at that time in eſteem: in languages, hiſtory, and divinity he particularly excelled. He read poetry with a good taſte; himſelf, as the biſhop of Chicheſter relates, no mean poet. But he laid out little time in the purſuit of any ſtudy foreign to his profeſſion

His temper was naturally warm; and in his youth we meet with inſtances of his giving way to paſſion; but he ſoon got more command of himſelf, and at length entirely corrected that infirmity.

His

His diſpoſition was ſerious, yet among his particular friends he was commonly chearful, ſometimes facetious. His general behaviour was very affable. His ſeverity had no object but himſelf: to others he was humble, candid, and indulgent. Never did virtue ſit with greater eaſe on any one, hadleſs of moroſeneſs, or could mix more agreeably with whatever was innocent in common life.

He had a moſt extraordinary ſkill in the art of managing a fortune. He conſidered himſelf barely as a ſteward for other people; and took care therefore that his own deſires never exceeded what calm reaſon could juſtify Extravagance with him was another word for injuſtice. Amidſt all his buſineſs he found leiſure to look into his affairs; well knowing that frugality is the ſupport of charity.

His intimacies were few. Yet where he profeſſed a particular friendſhip, he was a religious obſerver of its offices. Of this the following relation is an inſtance. Through his application the dean and chapter of Durham had beſtowed a living upon one of his friends. Soon after, Mr. Gilpin was nominated a referee in a diſpute between them and the archbiſhop of York: but for ſome particular reaſons he excuſed himſelf.*

* The chapter of Durham was in great diſorder, and in many inſtances much complained of. Sandys, archbiſhop of York, undertook to viſit them: but Whitingham, the dean, withſtood him; having prevailed upon the lord preſident of the north to ſecond him. The archbiſhop complained to the council: upon which a commiſſion was iſſued out by the lord keeper, impowering certain perſons to examine the caſe; among whom Mr. Gilpin was named. His reaſon for not acting was, moſt probably, becauſe he thought the dean and chapter in the wrong.

This irritated the dean and chapter ſo much, that out of mere pique at him they took away two thirds from the allowance they had aſſigned to his friend. He did what he could to pacify them; but his utmoſt endeavours proving fruitleſs, he inſiſted upon his friend's accepting from him a yearly ſatisfaction for his loſs. ‡

At

‡ To Dr. Wilſon.

'Right worſhipful, whereas I hear your worſhip named of 'many to the deanery of Durham, theſe are moſt humbly to be-'ſeech you (if it ſhall pleaſe God ſo to bleſs that houſe) that 'you will help, as I truſt God you may, to redreſs, among ſun-'dry enormities, one which hath happened a year ago or more. '—The dean and chapter of Durham are parſons of a pariſh in 'Northumberland, called Ellingham. The living was better 'than thirty pounds a year. Our ſchool-maſter of Houghton, a 'ſcholar of Oxford, made labour for it. At his ſuit, and mine 'together, it was granted; as we judged, with all ſuch commodi-'ties as the laſt incumbent, and others before, had had. But ſoon 'after, the dean and chapter took away from the vicar as good 'as twenty pounds a year; ſo that the poor man, having wife and 'children, might have begged, if I and other friends had not 'holpen him: God knoweth it hath been a coſtly matter to me. 'But my truſt now is, that your worſhip, knowing the matter, 'will be willing to help it, and may help it; for the preſent poſ-'ſeſſor, Mr. Selby, hath nothing to ſhew but a promiſe from 'Mr. Whitingham, whereunto the chapter would never con-'ſent. Mr. Ralph Lever can inform you of all the matter. If 'your worſhip can help it, ſurely you cannot do a better deed. 'Would to God all violent workers of injuries were reſiſted! '—If God ſhould ſend you into this country, I truſt to be better 'known to your worſhip. I pray God preſerve you evermore. 'By your's to his power,

Houghton,
July 11, 1579.

'BERNARD GILPIN.'

At another time a friend desired he would request the bishop of Durham to lend him a sum of money: he made the application; but not succeeding, he wrote thus to his friend: 'My lord hath lent to so very ma-'ny, (which I believe is true) that you must pardon 'him for not sending you the money. I pray you 'trouble him no more; and I trust by little and little 'I can make up the sum myself.'

He was the most candid interpreter of the words and actions of others: where he plainly saw failings, he would make every possible allowance for them. He used to express a particular indignation at slander; often saying, it deserved the gallows more than theft. For himself, he was remarkably guarded when he spoke of others: he considered common fame as the falsest medium, and a man's reputation as his most valuable property.

His sincerity was such as became his other virtues. He had the strictest regard to truth, of which his whole life was only one instance. All little arts and sinister practices, those ingredients of worldly prudence, he disdained. His perseverance in so commendable a part, in whatever difficulties it might at first involve him, in the end raised his character above malice and envy, and gave him that weight and influence in every thing he undertook, which nothing but an approved integrity can give.

Whatever his other virtues were, their luſtre was greatly increaſed by his humility. To conquer religious pride is one of the beſt effects of religion; an effect, which his religion in the moſt amiable manner produced.

But the moſt diſtinguiſhed parts of the character of this amiable man were his conſcientious diſcharge of the duties of a clergyman, his extenſive benevolence, and his exalted piety.

As to the diſcharge of his function, no man could be more ſtrongly influenced by what he thought the duties of it. The motives of convenience, or preſent intereſt, had no kind of weight with him. As the income was no part of his concern, he only conſidered the office; which he thought ſuch a charge as a man would rather dread than ſolicit: but when providence called him to it (for what was not procured by any endeavours of his own he could not but aſcribe to providence) he accepted it, though with reluctance. He then ſhewed, that if a ſenſe of the importance of his office made him diſtruſt his abilities, it made him moſt diligent in exerting them. When he undertook the care of a pariſh, it immediately engroſſed his whole attention. The pleaſures of life he totally relinquiſhed; in a great degree even his favourite purſuits of learning. This was the more commendable in him, as he had always a ſtrong inclination for retirement, and was often violently tempted to ſhut himſelf up in ſome univerſity at home or abroad, and live there ſequeſtered from

the world. But his conſcience corrected his inclination; as he thought the life of a mere recluſe by no means agreeable to the active principles of chriſtianity. Nay, the very repoſe to which his age laid claim, he would not indulge; but, as long as he had ſtrength ſufficient, perſevered in the laborious practice of ſuch methods of inſtruction, as he imagined would moſt benefit thoſe under his care.—Of popular applauſe he was regardleſs, ſo far as mere reputation was concerned: but as the favour of the multitude was one ſtep towards gaining their attention, in that light he valued it. He reproved vice, wherever he obſerved it, with the utmoſt freedom. As he was contented in his ſtation, and ſuperior to all dependence, he avoided the danger of being tempted to an unbecoming compliance: and whether he reproved in public or in private, his unblameable life, and the ſerioufneſs with which he ſpoke, gave an irreſiſtible weight to what he ſaid. He ſtudied the low capacities of the people among whom he lived, and knew how to adapt his arguments to their apprehenſions. Hence the effects that his preaching had upon them are ſaid to have been often very ſurpriſing. In particular it is related, that as he was once recommending honeſty in a part of the country notoriouſly addicted to thieving, a man ſtruck with the warmth and earneſtneſs with which he ſpoke, ſtood up in the midſt of a large congregation, and freely confeſſed his diſhoneſty, and how heartily he repented of it.

With regard to his benevolence, no man certainly had ever more diſintereſted views, or made the common

mon good more the ſtudy of his life; which was indeed the beſt comment upon the great chriſtian principle of univerſal charity. He called nothing his own: there was nothing he could not readily part with for the ſervice of others. In his charitable diſtributions he had no meaſure but the bounds of his income, of which the leaſt portion was always laid out on himſelf. Nor did he give as if he was granting a favour, but as if he was paying a debt: all obſequious ſervice the generoſity of his heart diſdained. He was the more particularly careful to give away in his lifetime whatever he could ſave for the poor, as he had often ſeen and regretted the abuſe of poſthumous charities. 'It is my 'deſign, at my departure, (ſays he, writing to a 'friend) to leave no more behind me, but to bury me, 'and pay my debts.' What little he did leave,* (which

* The following are a few extracts from his will, which perhaps may not be unacceptable to the reader.

'Firſt, I bequeath and commend my ſoul unto the hands of 'almighty God, my creator; not truſting in mine own merits, 'which am of myſelf a moſt wretched ſinner, but only in the mer'cy of God, and in the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, my redeemer and 'my ſaviour.—My body I commit to be buried in the pariſh'church or church-yard, whereſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to call 'me to his mercy.——For the diſpoſition of my goods, firſt, I 'will that all my debts be truly paid with all ſpeed; which I 'ſhall gather, and ſet after this my laſt will.—My debts once 'diſcharged, of what remaineth I give and bequeath * * * (here 'follow legacies to the poor of nine pariſhes.)—Likewiſe I give 'to the poor of Houghton pariſh the great new ark for corn, to 'provide them groats in winter; and if none will make that pro'viſion,

(which was little beſides his ſtock, and houſehold furniture, and the arrears of his tythes,) he left wholly to the

' viſion, let it be ſold, and the price dealt among them.—Likewiſe I give to the Queen's college in Oxford, all ſuch books as ' ſhall have written upon the firſt leaf, Bernardus Gilpin Reginenſi collegio, D. D. and all ſuch books as ſhall have written upon ' the firſt leaf, Johannes Newton Reginenſi collegio, D. D. and ' likewiſe all the books that Mr. Hugh Broughton hath of mine, ' viz. Euſebius, Greek, in two volumes; and Joſephus, Greek, ' in one volume, and certain other books; I truſt he will withhold none of them.—Alſo I give to Keipier ſchool in Houghton, all ſuch books as ſhall have the name of it in the firſt ' leaf.—Alſo I give to my ſucceſſor, and to his ſucceſſors after ' him, firſt, the great new brewing lead in the brewhouſe, with ' the gile-fat, and maſh-fat: likewiſe in the kiln a large new ' ſteep-lead, which receives a chauldren of corn at once: likewiſe in the larder-houſe one great ſalting-tub, which will hold ' four oxen or more: likewiſe in the great chamber over the parlour one long table, and a ſhorter, ſtanding upon joined frames: ' likewiſe in the parlour one long table upon a joined frame, with ' the form: likewiſe in the hall three tables ſtanding faſt, with ' their forms to them: likewiſe * * * [here follow a great many ' other pieces of furniture, materials for building, unwrought timber, lime, ſlate, &c.] In conſideration of all theſe, and ' of my exceeding great charges in building and reparations ſince ' my firſt coming to this parſonage, which I think with a ſafe ' conſcience I may well ſay amounteth to 300 pounds, if I ſay no ' more, I truſt my ſucceſſor will not demand any thing for delapidations: and if he ſhould, I doubt nothing but that the biſhop ' of Durham will perſuade him to be content with reaſon, and to ' do all things with charity: and if charity may bear rule, I ' doubt not but all delapidations will fall.—And here I moſt earneſtly deſire my ſucceſſor not only to let all delapidations fall ' upon theſe conſiderations, and alſo in favour of the poor, up-

' on

the poor, deducting a few ſlight tokens of remembrance that he bequeathed to his friends.

Such

'on whom chiefly my goods are beſtowed in this teſtament; but 'alſo that he will be a continual defender, and maintainer of 'Keipier-ſchool in Houghton, both in ſeeing the ſtatutes well 'kept, and the children brought up in virtue and learning: which 'if he do, I doubt not but God ſhall proſper him the better in 'all things he taketh in hand.—Moreover I give to the poor of 'Houghton twenty pounds, and nine of my oxen: the other nine 'I bequeath to my three executors:—likewiſe I give to the right 'reverend Richard lord biſhop of Durham, for a ſimple token 'of remembrance, three ſilver ſpoons with acorns; the hiſtory 'of Paulus Jovius; and the works of Calvin:—alſo I give unto 'John Heath, eſquire, for a like remembrance, other two ſilver 'ſpoons with acorns of the ſame weight; and alſo the hiſtory of 'John Sleden in Latin—to Mrs. Heath I give my Engliſh chro-'nicle of Fabian: alſo I give to Richard Bellaſis, eſquire, for 'a like remembrance, other two ſilver ſpoons with acorns of the 'ſame faſhion; and alſo my hiſtory called Novus Orbis.—And 'I moſt humbly beſeech theſe three men of honour and worſhip, 'that for God's cauſe they will take ſo much pain as to become 'ſupervifors of this my laſt will and teſtament, which being a 'work of chriſtian charity, I truſt verily they will not refuſe. 'And above all other things I moſt humbly beſeech them to take 'into their tuition and governance all the lands and revenues 'belonging to Keipier ſchool, and all deeds, evidences, gifts, 'and other writings, which are to ſhew for the ſame. All the 'right and title to theſe lands I give up wholly into their power, 'for the good maintenance of the ſaid ſchool.—And for as much 'as theſe lands are not ſo ſurely eſtabliſhed as I could wiſh, I 'give unto Keipier ſchool twenty pounds, which I deſire the 'biſhop of Durham to take into his hands, and to beſtow as he 'ſhall ſee fit, upon men learned in the laws.—All the reſt of 'my goods and chattels, I will that they be divided into two

'equal

Such inſtances of benevolence gained him the title of the father of the poor; and made his memory revered long afterwards in the country where he lived.*

But no part of his character was more conſpicuous than his piety. It hath been largely ſhewn with what temper, ſincerity, and earneſtneſs, he examined the controverted points of religion, and ſettled his own opinions. He thought religion his principal concern; and of courſe made the attainment of it his principal ſtudy: He knew no other end of religion but an holy life;

'equal parts, and the one of them to be given to the poor of 'Houghton, the other to ſcholars and ſtudents in Oxford, whoſe 'names are Ric. Wharton, Ste. Coperthwait, Geo. Carleton, 'Ralph Ironſide, Ewan Eyray, Will. Cayrns, Hen. Ayray, Fr. 'Reiſely, and Tho, Colliſon. Theſe I will be relieved as mine 'executors ſhall ſee needful, a year, two, or three, as the ſum 'will ariſe.——And for my three executors, for as much as I 'have been beneficial to them in my life-time, ſo far as a good 'conſcience would permit me, and ſometime further (but God I 'truſt hath forgiven me) I will, and I doubt not but they will 'agree to the ſame, that they be content with the nine oxen. 'And if any gains do ariſe from the ſale of my goods, as I 'think I have prized them under the worth, I will they ſhall 'have that amongſt them; only I earneſtly requeſt and deſire 'them to be good to my poor neighbours of the pariſh, being 'deſirous to buy ſuch things as they ſtand moſt in need of.

* A monument in the chancel of Houghton church is a remarkable inſtance of this.——It is erected to the memory of Mr.

life; and therefore in all his enquiries about it, he conſidered himſelf as looking after truths which were to influence his future conduct, and make him a better man. Accordingly, when his religious perſuaſion was once ſettled, he made the doctrines he embraced the invariable rule of his life: all his moral virtues became chriſtian; were formed upon ſuch motives, and reſpected ſuch ends, as chriſtianity recommended. It was his daily care to conform himſelf to the will of God; upon whoſe providence he abſolutely depended in all conditions of life; reſigned, eaſy, and chearful under whatſoever misfortunes he might meet with. He had ſome peculiar, though, it may be, juſt notions with regard to a particular providence. He thought all misfortunes, which our own indiſcretions did not immediately draw upon us, were ſent directly from God, to bring us

Mr. Davenport, a worthy rector of that pariſh; whom his encomiaſt thus celebrates.

'If the ſoul's tranſmigration were believ'd,
'You'd ſay, good Gilpin's ſoul he had received,
'And with as liberal hand did give, or more,
'His daily charity unto the poor:
'For which with him, we doubt not, he's poſſeſt
'Of righteous men's reward, eternal reſt.

Whatever becomes of the notion of the ſoul's tranſmigration, one would imagine however that Mr. Gilpin's example at leaſt had its influence upon the rectors of Houghton; for perhaps few pariſhes in England can boaſt ſuch a ſucceſſion of worthy paſtors, as that pariſh can, ſince Mr. Gilpin's death.

us to a ſenſe of our misbehaviour, and quicken us in a virtuous courſe; accordingly at ſuch times he uſed with more than ordinary attention to examine his paſt conduct, and endeavour to find out in what point of duty he had been defective.

To the opinions of others, however different from his own, he was moſt indulgent. He thought moderation one of the moſt genuine effects of true piety. It hath already appeared from his intercourſe with the diſſenters, how great an enemy he was to all intolerant principles; how wrong he thought it on one hand to oppoſe an eſtabliſhed church, and on the other to moleſt a quiet ſeparatiſt.

His life was wholly guided by a conſcience the moſt religiouſly ſcrupulous. I cannot forbear inſerting an inſtance of its extreme ſenſibility, though it may be thought perhaps rather to carry a degree of weakneſs with it. He had behaved in ſome particular, with regard to his pariſh, in a manner which gave him great concern. His conſcience was ſo much alarmed at what he had done, that nothing he was able to allege to himſelf in his excuſe was able to make him eaſy. At length he determined to lay open the whole caſe to the biſhop of Durham, his dioceſan, and to ſurrender up his living, or ſubmit to any cenſure, which the biſhop might think his fault deſerved. Without thus bringing himſelf

ſelf to juſtice, he ſaid, he never could have recovered his peace of mind.*

Such

* His letter upon this occaſion to the biſhop is not extant, nor doth it appear what the fault was: the following letter relates to it.

'Grace and peace in Jeſus Chriſt: if any man be vexed in 'body or mind, you know it is a very grievous thing to have no 'comforter; which hath conſtrained me to diſcloſe unto you '(not doubting but to have both your comfort and help, and to 'have it kept moſt ſecret) that thing, which, beſides you, I 'never opened to any living creature. In this incloſed letter I 'have opened my grief and weakneſs of conſcience unto my 'lord; beſeeching you, if opportunity will ſerve, to deliver it. 'Howbeit, if either he ſhould be pained with ſickneſs, or you 'would firſt by writing that I ſhould have your advice, or you 'ſee any other cauſe why to ſtay the delivery, I refer all to your 'wiſdom. But if you have opportunity to my lord, I hope by you 'to know ſpeedily ſome part of his pleaſure. I truſt, my caſe 'weighed, he will rather think me to be pitied than had in hat-'red. How tender a thing conſcience is, I have found by too 'good experience. I have found moreover, that as it is eaſily 'wounded, ſo it is with difficulty healed. And for my own 'part, I ſpeak from my heart, I would rather be often wound-'ed in my body, than once in my mind. Which things conſi-'dered, I truſt you will bear with my weakneſs. But you may 'object, I have continued weak very long; which fault cer-'tainly I find with myſelf: but for this I accuſe my own ſlowneſs 'both in ſtudy and prayer; which by God's grace, as far as my 'weak body will ſerve, hereafter ſhall be amended: for certainly 'thoſe two are the chief inſtruments, whereby I have ſure truſt 'that God of his goodneſs will make me ſtrong.'

Such was the life and character of this excellent man. A conduct ſo agreeable to the ſtricteſt rules of religion gained him among his contemporaries the title of the Northern Apoſtle. And indeed the parallel was ſtriking; his quitting corrupt doctrines, in the utmoſt reverence of which he had been educated; the perſecutions he met with for the ſake of his integrity; the danger he often ran of martyrdom; his contempt of the world; his unwearied application to the buſineſs of his calling; the extenſive field, in which his labours were employed; and the boldneſs and freedom with which he reproved the guilty, whatever their fortunes or ſtations were, might juſtly characterize him a truly apoſtolical perſon.

Viewed with ſuch a life, how mean and contemptible do the idle amuſements of the world appear! How trifling that uninterrupted ſucceſſion of ſerious folly which engages ſo great a part of mankind; while each real concern of life is crouded into ſo ſmall a compaſs. How much more nobly doth that perſon act, who can ſeparate appearances from realities; and maintain with firmneſs each worthy reſolution that he forms; perſevering ſteadily, like this excellent man, in the conſcientious diſcharge of the duties of that ſtation, whatever that ſtation is, in which providence hath placed him!

A

SERMON

PREACHED

IN THE COURT AT

GREENWICH,

BEFORE

KING EDWARD VI.

THE FIRST SUNDAY AFTER

THE EPIPHANY, MDLII.

BY

BERNARD GILPIN, B. D.

THE following ſermon is the only reviſed compoſition of Mr. Gilpin's that ſurvived him; for which reaſon I thought it right to give it to the reader. It was thought in king Edward's time a very pathetic ſtrain of eloquence; and well adapted to the irregularities which prevailed in the licentious court of that prince. It hath ſince been taken notice of by moſt of the writers who treat of the eccleſiaſtical affairs of thoſe times, and is mentioned by them as a remarkable inſtance of that commendable zeal, and noble freedom, which the illuſtrious reformers of our church then exerted in the cauſe of virtue and religion.— But I will leave it to recommend itſelf.

St. LUKE II. Ver. 41,—50.

'Now his parents went to Jeruſalem every year, at the 'feaſt of the paſſover. And when he was twelve 'years old, and they were come up to Jeruſalem, 'after the cuſtom of the feaſt, and had finiſhed the 'days thereof; as they returned, the child Jeſus re-'mained in Jeruſalem; and Joſeph knew not of it, 'nor his mother. But they, ſuppoſing that he had 'been in the company, went a day's journey; and 'ſought him amongſt their kinsfolk and acquaintance. 'And when they found him not, they turned back 'to Jeruſalem, and ſought him. And it came to 'paſs, three days after, that they found him in the 'temple, ſitting in the midſt of the doctors; both 'hearing them and aſking them queſtions. And all that 'heard him were aſtoniſhed at his underſtanding and 'anſwers. So when they ſaw him, they were ama-'zed: and his mother ſaid unto him, Son, why haſt 'thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I 'have ſought thee with heavy hearts. Then ſaid he 'unto them, How is it that ye ſought me? Know 'ye not that I muſt go about my father's buſineſs? 'But they underſtood not the word that he ſpake un-'to them.

FOraſmuch as the whole goſpel is more full of matter, and plenteous in myſteries, than that it can well be diſcuſſed within the limits of one ſermon, I have taken, for this time, to treat upon this one ſentence ſpoken by Chriſt unto his parents, 'Know ye 'not that I muſt go about my father's buſineſs?' being content to omit the reſt; taking only ſo much as ſhall

ſuffice to declare the occaſion whereupon he ſpake theſe words, for the fuller underſtanding of the ſame.

Ye ſhall therefore underſtand, that when our Saviour was come to the age of twelve years, giving attendance upon his parents to Jeruſalem, at the ſolemn feaſt of eaſter, whither they yearly did repair at that time of ſincere devotion, and for the obedience of the law; after that Joſeph and Mary had devoutly paſſed the days of the feaſt, and were returned home, it came to paſs, (not through blind fortune, but by God's providence, that his glory might appear) that the bleſſed ſon Jeſus tarried behind at Jeruſalem; and while his parents, either not taking good heed of him, or elſe going apart in ſundry companies, either of them truſting he had been with the other, they went one day's journey before they miſſed him: but after he was found wanting, they ſought him diligently among their kinsfolk and acquaintance, but found him not; which was undoubtedly unto them a very croſs of bitter affliction. So doth God many times exerciſe his elect and choſen with adverſity, for their trial, and to keep them in humility. When they were returned to Jeruſalem, and had long ſought him with ſorrowful hearts, after three days they found him in the temple.

Here then, by the way, methinks the Holy Ghoſt teacheth us this ſpiritual doctrine: ſo long as we ſeek Chriſt in our own kinsfolk, that is, our own inventions and devices, we find him not; but to find Chriſt, we muſt accompany theſe godly perſons, Joſeph and Mary, unto the temple of his holy word; there Chriſt

is

is found unto ſo many as ſeek him, with ſuch humble ſpirits and meek hearts as Joſeph and Mary did. They found him in the temple, not idly occupied as many are, not mumbling things he underſtood not, ſine mente ſonum, a confuſed ſound without knowledge; but they found him occupied in his heavenly father's buſineſs, as all men ſhould be in the temple, either in ſpeaking to God by humble and hearty prayer, or hearing God ſpeaking to them in his moſt bleſſed word. So was Chriſt occupied amongſt learned men, and oppoſing them. Where he teacheth us, to be always as glad to learn as to teach. It is a probable conjecture, that he opened to them the ſcriptures which ſpake of Meſſias, a matter then in controverſy. But whatſoever their matter was, the evangeliſt ſaith, 'he made 'them all aſtoniſhed at his underſtanding and anſwers.' So the glory of his godhead even then began to ſhine. Where we may mark the wonderful power of the goſpel: even the hard-hearted that will not receive it, the bright beams of the truth ſhining therein maketh aſtoniſhed. It cauſeth alſo the godly to marvel, as Mary and Joſeph; but their admiration always ended with joy.

Yet notwithſtanding his heavenly majeſty made all men to wonder, his mother thought ſhe had ſome cauſe to expoſtulate with him for the great fear he had brought upon them, caſting them into a dungeon of ſorrows; and complaining, ſaid, 'Son, why haſt thou,' &c. She ſeemed to charge him with the breach of the firſt precept of the ſecond table, that he had not well intreated his parents. But Chriſt ſo ſhaped his anſwer, that

that he taketh away all her complaint; teaching us, how the precepts of the ſecond table may not be underſtood in any wiſe to be a hindrance to the firſt. 'Wiſt 'ye not that I muſt go about my father's buſineſs?' Where our duty and ſervice to God cometh in place, all human ſervice and obedience, which might be a hindrance thereto, to whomſoever it be, father or mother, king or Ceſar, muſt ſtand back and give place. Beſides this, he teacheth us here a moſt neceſſary leſſon for all men to know and bear away, which is, that his whole life and death was nothing elſe but a perfect obedience to the will of his heavenly father, and that he was always moſt buſily occupied therein: and teacheth us, that if we look by adoption to be brethren and coheirs with Chriſt of his father's kingdom, we muſt alſo with our maſter and lord yield up ourſelves wholly to our heavenly father's will, and always be occupied in his buſineſs. 'I have given you an example, that 'ye ſhould do even as I have done to you.' Which leſſon being ſo neceſſary of all Chriſtians to be kept, and the breach thereof the cauſe of all iniquity, I thought it good to paſs over other places of ghoſtly inſtruction which this goſpel might miniſter, and to tarry upon this one ſentence, 'Know ye not that I muſt go about 'my father's buſineſs?' Indending to ſhew in order, how all eſtates of men, the clergy, the nobility, and the commonalty, are under the band of this obligation, oportet, we muſt, and ought of neceſſity to be occupied in our heavenly father's buſineſs.—But firſt of all, miſtruſting wholly mine own ſtrength, I crave aid of you by your devout prayers.

'Know

'Know ye not that I muſt go about my father's 'buſineſs?'

AFTER that our firſt parents, through diſobedience and ſin, had blotted and diſfigured the lively image of God, whereunto they were created, and might have lived alway in a conformity to the will of God; man was never able to apply himſelf to God his father's buſineſs, nor yet ſo much as to know what appertained thereto. 'The natural man, ſaith St. Paul, 'perceiveth not the things of the ſpirit of God,' till Chriſt, the very true image of God the father, did come down, and took man's nature upon him; which deſcent, as he declareth, was to fulfil for us the will of his father, that 'like as by diſobedience of one man, many 'were made ſinners; ſo by the obedience of one '(Chriſt) many might be made righteous, what time 'as he became obedient unto death, even the death, of 'the croſs.' Which obedience, leſt carnal men ſhould challenge to ſuffice for them, howſoever their life be a continual rebellion againſt God and his holy will, ſuch as there be a great number, and have been in all ages, St. Paul wipeth them clean away, ſaying, 'Chriſt 'hath become ſalvation, not to all, but to all that o-'bey him.' Let no man therefore flatter and deceive himſelf. If we will challenge the name of Chriſt's deſciples, if we will worthily poſſeſs the glorious name of Chriſtians, we muſt learn this leſſon of our maſter, to be occupied in our heavenly father's buſineſs; which is, to fly our own will, which is a wicked and wanton will,

and

and wholly to conform ourſelves to his will, ſaying, as we are taught, 'thy will be done;' which, as St. 'Auguſtine ſaith, 'the fleſhly man, the covetous, adul-'terous, ravenous, or deceitful man, can never ſay, 'but with his lips, becauſe in his heart he preferreth 'his own curſed will, ſetting aſide the will of God.'

Now forſomuch as the greateſt part of the world hath at this day forſaken their father's buſineſs, applying their own, and are altogether drowned in ſin; for, 'the whole head is ſick, and the whole heart is heavy: 'from the ſole of the foot to the head, there is nothing 'whole therein,' and as St. Paul ſaith, 'all ſeek their 'own, and not that which is Jeſus Chriſt's;' and as I am here aſcended into the high hill of Sion, the higheſt hill in all this realm, I muſt needs, as it is given me in commiſſion, 'cry aloud and ſpare not; lift up my 'voice like a trumpet, and ſhew the people their tranſ-'greſſions.' I muſt cry unto all eſtates, as well of the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry, as of the civil governance, with the vulgar people.

But foraſmuch as example of holy ſcriptures, with experience of Chriſt's church in all ages, hath taught us that the fall of prieſts is the fall of the people; and contrariwiſe, the integrity of them is the preſervation of the whole flock; and the miniſters, as Chriſt ſaith, being 'the light of his myſtical body, if the light be 'turned into darkneſs, there muſt needs follow great 'darkneſs in the whole body;' I think it fit to begin with them, who ſeem to have brought blindneſs into the

the whole body, making men to forget their heavenly father's buſineſs: they which ſhould have kept the candle ſtill burning, theſe will I chiefly examine in that buſineſs which Chriſt ſo earneſtly committed to all paſtors before his aſcenſion, when he demanded thrice of Peter if he loved him; and every time upon Peter's confeſſion, enjoined him ſtraightly to feed his lambs and ſheep: wherein we have the true trial of all miniſters who love Chriſt, and apply his buſineſs.

But to conſider how it hath been forgotten in the church many years, it might make a Chriſtian's heart to bleed. He that wrote the general chronicle of ages, when he cometh to the time of John VIII. and Martin II. biſhops of Rome about ſix hundred years ago, conferring the golden ages going before, with the iniquity of that time, when through ambition, avarice, and contention, the office of ſetting forth God's word was brought to an utter contempt, and trodden under foot, in token whereof the bible was made the biſhop's foot-ſtool, he falleth to a ſudden exclamation, and complaineth thus with the lamentable voice of the prophet Jeremy, 'O lord God, how is the gold become ſo dim? 'How is the goodly colour of it ſo changed? O moſt 'ungracious time, ſaith he, wherein the holy man 'faileth, or is not. All truths are diminiſhed from 'the ſons of men: there are no godly men left: the 'faithful are worn out among the children of men.' In that time, as it appeared both by this hiſtory and others, ambition and greedy avarice had taught miniſters to ſeek and contend for livings, who might climb the higheſt

higheſt by utter contempt of their office, and our heavenly father's buſineſs; and ſo to make Chriſt's flock a ready prey for the devil, 'who goeth about like a roaring lion, ſeeking whom he may devour.'

Then the biſhop of Rome, abuſing always Peter's keys to fill Judas's ſatchels, diſpenſed with all prelates that brought any money in obeying Chriſt's commiſſion given to Peter, 'Feed, feed my lambs and my ſheep;' and ſtretched it ſo largely, that inſtead of feeding Chriſt's lambs and ſheep, he allowed them to feed hawks, hounds, and horſes, I will not ſay harlots. Then, inſtead of fiſhers of men, he made them to become fiſhers of benefices and fat livings. He brought preaching into ſuch a contempt, that it was accounted a great abſurdity for a cardinal to preach, after he had once beſtrid his mule.

But let us ſee after, how this evil increaſed. St. Bernard in his time, about two hundred years after, lamented that when open perſecution of tyrants and heretics was ceaſed in the church, then another perſecution, far worſe, and more noiſome to Chriſt's goſpel, did ſucceed; when the miniſters, Chriſt's own friends by pretence, were turned into perſecutors. 'My lovers and my kinſmen ſtand aſide from my plague: and my kinſmen ſtand afar off.' The iniquity of the church, ſaith Bernard, began at the elders. 'Alas, alas, O lord God, they are the foremoſt in perſecuting of thee, which are thought to love the chiefeſt place of pre-eminence in the church.' This complaint,

plaint, with much more too long to be rehearſed, againſt the prelates of Rome, made St. Bernard in his time nothing afraid in the ſame place to call them anti-chriſts; and for murdering of ſilly ſouls, redeemed with Chriſt's precious blood, he maketh them more cruel perſecutors of Chriſt, than the Jews which ſhed his blood.

If the iniquity of Rome, four hundred years ago, was ſo great, and ſince hath not a little increaſed, it was high time that God ſhould open the eyes of ſome chriſtian princes, to ſee the great abuſes and enormities of Romiſh biſhops, and to deliver Chriſt's goſpel out of captivity, and to bring down his horns, whoſe pride, if he might have had ſucceſs in his tyranny, began to aſcend with Lucifer above the ſtars.

It is not many years ago, that a champion of theirs, named Pelagius, writing againſt Marſilius Paduanus in defence of Rome, hath not been aſhamed to leave in writing, that the pope (quodammodo, after a ſort) doth participate both natures, the godhead and manhood, with Chriſt; and that he may not be judged of the emperor, becauſe he is not a meer man, but as a God upon earth; and God, ſaith he, may not be judged of man. What intolerable blaſphemy is this? If I had not read it myſelf, I could ſcarcely believe any ſuch blaſphemy to proceed from him which profeſſeth Chriſt. Do you not perceive plainly the hiſſing and poiſon of the old ſerpent, when he tempted our firſt parents, and promiſed they ſhould become like Gods? A vile

wretched

wretched creature, worms meat, forgetting his eſtate, muſt become a God upon earth.—Such Gods ſhall follow Jupiter, Mars, and Venus, into the pit of damnation.

But ſome will ſay, What ſhould we ſpeak ſo much of the biſhop of Rome? Is he not gone? His power taken away? If preachers would let him alone, the people would ſoon forget him. Truly, for my part, if I had that gift, ſtrength, and calling, I had rather (though I were ſure to ſmart therefore) ſpeak againſt his enormities in Rome, than to ſpeak of them here: and I think no man beareth, at leaſt I am ſure no man ought to bear, any malice or evil againſt his perſon, in ſpeaking againſt his vice and iniquity: 'We 'fight not, ſaith St. Paul, againſt fleſh and blood; but we 'fight againſt the prince of darkneſs,' &c. When any wicked man, adverſary to God and his word, aſſaileth us, we muſt take him for no other but as an inſtrument of the devil, and Satan himſelf to be our enemy, and none other; and even as when an enemy aſſaileth us on horſeback, we wiſh to overthrow the enemy and win the horſe, which may be profitable to us; ſo if the devil could be caſt out of ſuch inſtruments as he hath in Rome, the men would become profitable members of Chriſt. But if the devil ſit ſo faſt in the ſaddle, that he cannot be turned out, we cannot amend it. Yet our duty is, to pray unto God for them; and to hate none of God's creatures, but rather that which Satan hath depraved, 'if peradventure God will turn their 'hearts.'

But

But notwithſtanding, their faults ought to be chiefly told them in their preſence; yet not there only, but even here amongſt us alſo. Although it come not to their ears, it is not a little expedient oftentimes to cry and thunder againſt their errors and vices; chiefly, that ſo oft as we hear it, we may give God thanks, as we are moſt bounden, for our deliverance from that captivity of Babylon, as St. Peter himſelf, by the mind of antient writers, called it. Examples hereof we have in the ſcriptures: the ſong of the Iſraelites, after their deliverance out of Egypt; and afterwards, when they were delivered by Debora from the tyranny of Siſera; and after the deliverance from Holofernes by Judith. We muſt be thankful, leſt for our unthankfulneſs God ſuffer us to fall into a worſe bondage than ever we were in.—But moſt of all it is profitable, that we may from our hearts renounce with Babylon all the vices of Babylon. For what did profit the deliverance out of Egypt, to thoſe that did ſtill carry Egypt in their minds through the deſart? What did it avail the deliverance out of Babylon, to thoſe that did bring Babylon home to Jeruſalem? I fear me, yet in England a great many, like fleſhly Iſraelites, are weary of the ſweet manna of the goſpel, and ſavour of the fleſhly Egypt, deſiring to live ſtill under the bondage of Pharaoh.

But moſt of all it is expedient now for my purpoſe to ſpeak of that ſea, from whence, ſo far as ever I could learn, thoſe intolerable abuſes have overflown, and are come among us; which as yet are great enemies

mies to Chriſt's goſpel here in England, making his miniſters to ſet aſide his buſineſs: ſuch abuſes as cannot yet be driven away, nor ſent home to Rome to their father: I mean diſpenſations for pluralities, and tot-quots, with diſpenſations for non-reſidents, which avarice and idleneſs tranſported hither from Rome. But for that they ſavour ſweet for a time to carnal men, they have ſo many patrons, that they cannot be driven away with other abuſes.

And becauſe they are accounted to ſtand by law, they are uſed as cloaks for iniquity. Theſe may well be likened unto thoſe fatlings which Saul, againſt God's commandment, did keep alive when he vanquiſhed the Amalekites. And truly, till there be ordained ſome godly laws to baniſh theſe, with other abuſes, God's wrath is kindled againſt us to deſtroy all ſuch as are maintainers of them. So long as it ſhall be lawful for men to have ſo many livings as they can get, and diſcharge never a one; and ſo long as men may have livings to lie where they will in idleneſs, far from their cure, fatting themſelves like the devil's porklings, and letting a thouſand ſouls periſh for lack of ſpiritual food, God's buſineſs ſhall never be well applied, nor his goſpel have ſucceſs in England.

It is pity that ever it ſhould be needful to wiſh any laws to be made by man, to bring miniſters of God's word to do their duty, being ſo plainly expreſſed in God's law. If our hearts were not hardened more than Pharaoh's, our judgment more blinded with inſenſibleneſs of heavenly things than the Sodomites, we ſhould

tremble

tremble and quake more at one threatning of God's vengeance againſt negligent paſtors, that feed themſelves and ſet aſide their heavenly father's buſineſs, whereof the ſcripture is full in every place, than we ſhould fear all the powers upon earth, which, as Chriſt ſaith, having power only of the body, cannot hurt the ſoul.—O Lord, how dare men be ſo bold as to take on them the name of Chriſt's miniſters, and utterly refuſe the work of their miniſtry, by leaving their flock, God's word being ſo plain againſt them!

I marvel not ſo much at blind bayards, which never take God's book in hand; ignorance hath blinded them; they know not the price of man's ſoul: but truly, I could never enough marvel at learned men, which read the ſcriptures, where their hearts and underſtanding ſhould be, when they read almoſt in every leaf of ſcripture, beſides all antient writers, their own ſharp ſentence and judgment, which a whole day were too little to bring them in.—O merciful God, where be their eyes to ſee, their ears to hear! Do they think there is a God which is not maſter of his word? I will let paſs how they are called of the holy Ghoſt by moſt odious names, thieves, robbers, hypocrites, idols, wolves, dumb dogs, with many ſuch like, worthy their deſerts. I will only declare, which methinks might ſuffice if there were no more, how the ſcripture maketh them moſt cruel murtherers, and guilty of blood. In the thirty-fourth of Eccleſiaſticus it is written, 'The bread of the needful is the life of the poor; 'he that defraudeth them thereof is a man of blood.'

If

If this ſentence be true in them that defraud the needy of their corporal food, how much more are they which withhold the food of the ſoul, being the worthier part of man, guilty of blood? And therefore God, by his prophet Ezekiel, telleth them, 'So many as periſh by 'their negligence, their blood ſhall be required at their 'hands, as men guilty of blood.' Now let them conſider, that if the blood of Abel, one man, cried up unto heaven for vengeance againſt Cain, what an horrible cry ſhall the blood of a thouſand ſouls make before the throne of God, aſking vengeance againſt that wicked paſtor, which moſt cruelly hath hungred them to death, in withholding from them the food of life? The gold they lay up yearly, brought far off by farmers; their rings and jewels; their fine apparel; their beds they lie on; their meat and drink, being the ſpoil of the poor; cry all for vengeance: the ſtones in the wall, the timber over their heads, cry for vengeance.

Alas, how far are they from excuſing themſelves with St. Paul, ſaying to the people of Epheſus, 'I take 'you to record this day, I am pure from the blood of 'all men; for I have ſpared no labour, but have ſhew-'ed all the counſel of God unto you.' But alas, theſe men may rather ſay, that they have kept counſel of God's counſel: and where St. Paul preached publickly, and by houſes, theſe men keep ſilence, leſt they ſhould diſquiet the devil in his fort; of whom Chriſt ſaith, 'When a ſtrong man armed watcheth his houſe, the 'things that he poſſeſſeth are in peace.' They ſay with the evil ſervant, 'My maſter is long a coming,

'and

'and ſo beats his fellow-ſervants,' like cruel murtherers and tyrants, whoſe judgment ſhall be ſtraiter than any Pharaoh, Nero, or Domitian, that ever reigned. But alas, it helpeth nothing to call or cry upon them: 'They have hardened their hearts as an adamant ſtone.' Lazarus hath lain ſo long buried and ſtinking in worldly luſts and ſenſualities, the preacher cannot call him out, nor yet remove the graveſtone.—What ſhall I then do?—I muſt call unto you, moſt noble prince, and Chriſt's anointed.

I am * come this day to preach to the king, and to thoſe which be in authority under him. I am very ſorry they ſhould be abſent, which ought to give example, and encourage others to the hearing of God's word: and I am the more ſorry for that other preachers before me complain much of their abſence. But you will ſay they have weighty affairs in hand. Alas, hath God any greater buſineſs than this? If I could cry with the voice of Stentor, I would make them hear in their chambers; but in their abſence I will ſpeak to their ſeats, as if they were preſent.

I will call unto you, noble prince, as Chriſt's anointed. Chriſt's little flock here in England, which he hath committed to your charge, which wander by many thouſands as ſheep having no paſtors: they cry all unto you for ſuccour, to ſend them home their ſhepherds, to the end that for things corporal, they may receive ſpi-

* The king being abſent theſe words were added extempore.

ritual; and to let one paſtor have one only competent living, which he may diſcharge. They call upon you to expel and drive away the great drones, which in idleneſs devour other men's labour; that after St. Paul's rule, 'He that will not labour, be not ſuffered to eat. 'The little ones have aſked bread, &c.' Chriſt's little ones have hungered and called for the food of the goſpel a long time, and none there was to give it them. Now they cry unto you, take heed you turn not your ears from them, leſt their blood be required at your hands alſo, and leſt God turn his ears from you. Samuel ſpake unto Saul fearful words, 'Becauſe thou haſt caſt 'away the word of the Lord, the Lord hath therefore caſt 'away thee from being king.' You are made of God a paſtor, a paſtor of paſtors. When David was anointed king of Iſrael, God ſaid, 'Thou ſhalt feed my 'people Iſrael.' You muſt feed, and that is, to ſee that all paſtors do their duty. The eye of the maſter hath great ſtrength. Your grace's eye to look through your realm, and ſee that watchmen ſleep not, ſhall be worth a great number of preachers. They call unto you to awake not only negligent paſtors, but alſo to take away other enormities, which have followed in heaps upon thoſe evils, pluralities and non-reſidents.

If I might have time, I think I ſhould be able to prove, that the great ſwarm of evils which reign at this day, have flowed from thoſe fountains, or rather puddles. But I will only ſpeak of the great abuſes which by ſpoil or robbery do hide the goſpel, how they have enſued.

Firſt

Firſt of all the diſpenſations of non-reſidents have brought forth farming of benefices to gentlemen, laymen, wherein they have found ſuch ſweetneſs and worldly wealth, that preachers cannot have them, they will be perpetual farmers; which hath opened a gap for the heathen, as David ſaith, or elſe for cloaked chriſtians, much worſe than the heathen, who have entered into Chriſt's inheritance, ſpoiled his holy temple, and robbed his goſpel. Such ſeem to make compoſition with our great enemy Satan: the idle paſtor ſaying, Give to me riches, take the reſt to thy ſhare; whom Satan anſwereth, If thou wilt betray to me the ſouls, take riches for thy part.

Another gap hath been opened, for that the learned have not done their duties, no more than the unlearned; hereby Chriſt's vineyard hath been utterly ſpoiled. Patrons ſee that none do their duty. They think as good to put in aſſes as men. The biſhops were never ſo liberal in making of lewd prieſts; but they are as liberal in making lewd vicars. I dare ſay, if ſuch a monſter as Dervell Gatherel, the idol of Wales, burnt in Smithfield, ſhould have ſet his hand to a bill to let the patron take the greateſt part of the profits, he might have had a benefice. There is never any queſtion how he can occupy himſelf in God's buſineſs. John Gerſon, a learned man in his time, witneſſeth, that whoſoever in that time was admitted to a benefice in France, muſt anſwer to this queſtion, Scis utrumque teſtamentum? Knoweſt thou the old teſtament and the new? And the ignorant was put back. But with theſe men,

it ſkilleth not if he never opened the bible, ſo much the meeter for their purpoſe, as he is not able to ſpeak againſt their abuſes, but will ſuffer them to ſleep in their ſin.—And will you ſee what prepoſterous judgment they uſe? For all worldly offices they ſearch meet and convenient men; only chriſtian ſouls, ſo dearly bought, are committed without reſpect, to men not worthy to keep ſheep.

Your grace hath ſent forth ſurveyors, as moſt needful it was, to ſee there ſhould be no deceit in payment of penſions, and other offices abroad: would to God you would alſo ſend forth ſurveyors to ſee how benefices are beſtowed and uſed; how Chriſt and his goſpel are robbed and diſhonoured, to the great decay of your realm and commonwealth: you ſhould find a ſmall number of patrons that beſtow rightly their livings, ſeeking God's glory, and that his work and buſineſs may be rightly applied, without ſimony, or ſeeking their own profit.

For firſt, is is almoſt general, to reſerve the farming to himſelf, or his friend; and to appoint the rent at his own pleaſure.—But worſe than this, a great number never farm them at all, but keep them as their own lands, and give ſome three-halfpenny prieſt a curate's wages, nine or ten pounds. Even as Jeroboam made prieſts of his own for his hill-altars, to ſacrifice to his calves, that the people ſhould not go up to Jeruſalem. Theſe Jeroboams will never let the people aſcend to Jeruſalem, to find Chriſt in the temple of his word.

word. They began firſt with parſonages, and ſeemed to have ſome conſcience towards vicarages; but now their hearts be ſo hardened, all is fiſh that cometh to the net. Gentlemen are parſons and vicars both, nothing can eſcape them. There be vicarages about London, having a thouſand people, ſo ſpoiled; whereby it may appear what is done further off.——Your grace may find alſo, where gentlemen keep in their hands livings of forty or fifty pounds, and give one that never cometh there five or ſix pounds. Some change the ground of the benefice with their tenants, to the intent, if it be called for, the tenant ſhall loſe it and not they. Is not this a godly patron?—It ſhall appear alſo, I could name the place, where a living of an hundred marks by the year, if I ſay not pounds, hath been ſold for many years, I ſuppoſe an hundred ſave one, and ſo continueth ſtill.—O good St. Ambroſe, if thou hadſt been biſhop there, thou wouldſt never have ſuffered ſuch wolves to devour the flock. It may well be called a devouring; for this living in a godly learned paſtor's hand might have refreſhed five hundred in a year with ghoſtly food, and all the country about with God's word; which, as I perceive, in twenty miles compaſs hath ſcarce one man to preach; and yet no place in England more needful, for boys and girls of fourteen or fifteen years old cannot ſay the Lord's prayer. Shall ſuch injury to Chriſt and his goſpel be ſuffered in a chriſtian realm? That one enormity crieth for vengeance till it be redreſſed.—What ſhall I ſpeak? Your noblemen reward their ſervants with livings appointed for the goſpel. Certainly I marvel that God holdeth his

his hand, that he deſtroyeth them not with Nadab and Abihu. Let them not abuſe God's patience; for if they do not ſhortly repent, and beſtow their livings better, both maſter and man ſhall burn in hell fire.

I am not able to rehearſe, nor yet any man knoweth all the abuſes which the ſimoniacs, ambitious and idle paſtors, have brought unto your realm; by whoſe evil example ravenous wolves, painted chriſtians, hypocrites, have entered and defiled the ſanctuary, ſpoiled Chriſt and his goſpel, to the deſtruction of his flock. How great enemies they be to Chriſt, by keeping away his goſpel, it ſhall appear, if ye conſider what groſs ſuperſtition and blindneſs remaineth ſtill among the people, only through lack of faithful preachers. I paſs over much infidelity, idolatry, ſorcery, charming, witchcrafts, conjuring, truſting in figures, with ſuch other trumpery, which lurk in corners, and began of late to come abroad only for lack of preaching. Come to the miniſtration of the ſacraments, ſet forth now by common authority after the firſt inſtitution. They think baptiſm is not effectual, becauſe it wanteth man's tradition. They are not taught how the apoſtles baptized. A great number think it is a great offence to take the ſacrament of Chriſt's body in their hands, that have no conſcience to receive it with blaſphemous mouths, with malicious hearts, full of all uncleanneſs. Theſe come to it by threes of cuſtom, without any ſpiritual hunger, and know not the end wherefore it was inſtituted. They come to the church to feed their eyes, and not their ſouls; they are not taught that no viſible thing

is

is to be worſhiped; and for becauſe they ſee not in the church the ſhining pomp and pleaſing variety (as they thought it) of painted cloths, candleſtics, images, altars, lamps, and tapers, they ſay, as good to go into a barn; nothing eſteeming Chriſt which ſpeaketh to them in his holy word, neither his holy ſacrament reduced to the firſt inſtitution. To be ſhort, the people are now, even as the Jews were at Chriſt's coming, altogether occupied in external holineſs and culture, without any feeling of true holineſs, or of the true worſhip of God in ſpirit and truth, without the which all other is meer hypocriſy. Many thouſands know not what this meaneth; but ſeek Chriſt ſtill among their kindred, in man's inventions, where they can never find him. As the Jews preferred man's traditions before God's commandments, even ſo it is now. Men think it a greater offence to break a faſting day, or work upon a ſaint's day, than to abſtain from profitable labour, and turn it to Bacchus's feaſts, exerciſing more ungodlineſs that day than all the week, deſpiſing or ſoon weary of God's word.—All this, with much more, cometh through lack of preaching, as experience trieth where godly paſtors be.—It cannot much be marvelled, if the ſimple and ignorant people, by ſome wicked heads and firebrands of hell be ſometimes ſeduced to rebel againſt their prince and lawful magiſtrates, ſeeing they are never taught to know their obedience and duty to their king and ſovereign, ſo ſtraitly commanded in God's law.

But there hangeth over us a great evil, if your grace do not help it in time; the devil goeth about by theſe

theſe cormorants that devour theſe livings appointed for the goſpel, to make a fortreſs and bulwark to keep learned paſtors from the flock; that is, ſo to decay learning, that there ſhall be none learned to commit the flock unto. For by reaſon livings appointed for the miniſtry, for the moſt part are either robbed of the beſt part, or clean taken away; almoſt none have any zeal or devotion to put their children to ſchool, but to learn to write, to make them apprentices, or elſe to have them lawyers. Look upon the two wells of this realm, Oxford and Cambridge; they are almoſt dried up. The cruel Philiſtines abroad, enemies to Chriſt's goſpel, have ſtopped up the ſprings of faithful Abraham. The decay of ſtudents is ſo great, there are ſcarce left of every thouſand an hundred. If they decay ſo faſt in ſeven years more, there will be almoſt none at all; and then may the devil make a triumph. This matter requireth ſpeedy redreſs. The miſeries of your people cry upon you, noble prince, and Chriſt for his flock crieth to you his anointed, to defend his lambs from theſe ravenous wolves that rob and ſpoil his vineyard; by whoſe malicious endeavour, if your grace do not ſpeedily reſiſt, there is entering into England more blind ignorance, ſuperſtition, and infidelity, than ever was under the Romiſh biſhop. Your realm (which I am ſorry to ſpeak) ſhall become more barbarous than Scythia; which, leſt God almighty lay to your grace's charge, for ſuffering the ſword given to you for the maintenance of the goſpel to lie ruſting in the ſheath, beſtir now yourſelf in your heavenly father's buſineſs; withſtanding theſe cormorants by godly laws, which rob

Chriſt's

Chriſt's goſpel, and tread it down. 'They eat up 'God's people as it were bread.' Your grace ſhall have more true renown and glory before God, by defending Chriſt's Goſpel againſt them, than by conquering all Africa. You ſhall do God more ſervice by reſiſting this tyranny of the devil and his members, than by vanquiſhing the great Turk. Cut firſt away the occaſions of all this miſchief, diſpenſations for pluralities, and totquots for non-reſidents. Suffer no longer the tithes of the fartheſt parts of England to be paid at Paul's font. Cauſe every paſtor, as his living will extend, to keep hoſpitality.—But many think themſelves excuſed for a year or two, becauſe their livings are taken away the firſt year; which undoubtedly doth not excuſe them for their preſence, I had rather beg or borrow of my friends, to help me to meat and cloaths, than ſuffer the devil to have ſuch liberty one year. It is no ſmall number of ſouls that may periſh by one year's abſence. Moſes was from the people but forty days, and they fell to idolatry.

Howbeit, foraſmuch as the ſcripture doth allow the miniſter a living the firſt year alſo, ('He that ſerveth 'at the altar, let him live of the altar;' and again, 'Thou ſhalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the 'corn.') I do not doubt, but after your grace, with the advice of your honourable council, have conſidered how much it may ſet forth God's glory, how many ſouls may be delivered from the devil by ſending paſtors to their livings the firſt month, and ſuffering them to have no cloak of abſence, you will ſoon reſtore the firſt year's

living,

living, which in my conſcience was wrongfully taken away at the firſt, as I ſuppoſe, by the biſhop of Rome. But I doubt not, if all were well redreſſed to this, that this alſo ſhould ſoon be amended. Wherefore, here I will deſire God to aſſiſt your grace in the advancement of his goſpel, which, like unto Joſias, you have helped to bring to light where it lay hid.

But yet it is not heard of all your people. A thouſand pulpits in England are covered with duſt. Some have not had four ſermons theſe fifteen or ſixteen years, ſince friars left their limitations; and few of thoſe were worthy the name of ſermons. Now therefore, that your glory may be perfect, all men's expectation is, that whatſoever any flatterers, or enemies to God's word ſhould labour to the contrary, for their own lucre; your grace will take away all ſuch lets and abuſes, as hinder the ſetting forth of God's moſt holy word, and withſtand all ſuch robbers, as ſpoil his ſanctuary; travelling to ſend paſtors home to their flocks, to feed Chriſt's lambs and ſheep, that all may be occupied in their heavenly father's buſineſs. And for this your travel, as St. Peter ſaith, 'when the prince of all paſtors ſhall appear, you ſhall receive an incorruptible crown of glory.'

And thus far concerning the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry.

But now to come to the civil governance, the nobility, magiſtrates, and officers; all theſe muſt at all times remember, 'they muſt be occupied in their heavenly

'venly father's buſineſs.' They have received all their nobility, power, dominion, authority, and offices of God; which are excellent and heroical gifts: and if they be occupied in God's buſineſs, it ſhall redound to his glory, and the wealth of his people; but if they fall from his buſineſs, and follow their own will, or rather the will of Satan, the prince of darkneſs, and father of all the children of darkneſs, then ſhall all theſe glorious titles turn them to names of confuſion. For falling unto ungodlineſs, and framing themſelves to the ſhape and faſhion of this world, nobility is turned into vile ſlavery and bondage of ſin, power and dominion are turned into tyranny, authority is become a ſword of miſchief in a madman's hand, all majeſty and honour is turned into miſery, ſhame, and confuſion; and ever the higher men be, while they ſerve ſin, the more notable is their vice, and more peſtiferous to infect by evil examples; becauſe all men's eyes are bent to behold their doings. 'Every fault of the mind is ſo 'much more evident, as the party is more notable who 'hath it,' ſaith Juvenal. For the worthier the perſon is which offendeth, the more his offence is noted of others; ſeeing that virtue in all whom God hath exalted is the maintainer of their dignity, without the which they fall from it. It ſhall be moſt needful for them to embrace virtue, and chiefly humility, which is the keeper of all virtues; which may put them ever in remembrance from whence power is given them, for what end, who is above them, a judge, an examiner of all their doings, who cannot be deceived. But as dignity goeth now a days, climb who may climb higheſt, every man

man exalteth himſelf, and tarrieth not the calling of God. Humility is taken for no keeper, but for an utter enemy to nobility. As I heard of a wicked climber and exalter of himſelf, who hearing the ſentence of Chriſt in the goſpel, 'He that humbleth himſelf ſhall 'be exalted,' he moſt blaſphemouſly againſt God's holy word ſaid, 'Sure it was not true; for if I, ſaid he, 'had not put forth, nor advanced myſelf, but followed 'this rule, I had never come to this dignity;' for which blaſphemy, the vengeance of God ſmote him with ſudden death.

I fear me a great number are in England, which though in words they deny not this ſentence of Chriſt's, yet inwardly they can ſcarce digeſt it; elſe certainly they would never ſeek ſo ambitiouſly to advance themſelves, to climb by their own might, uncalled; never ſeeking the public weal, but rather the deſtruction thereof, for their private wealth and lucre; which cauſeth us to have ſo many evil magiſtrates. For all the while that men gather goods unjuſtly, by polling, pilling, uſury, extortion, and ſimony, and therewith ſeek to climb with bribes and buying of offices, it is ſcarce poſſible for ſuch to be wholeſome magiſtrates. They enter in at the window (which is uſed as well in civil government as in eccleſiaſtical) and therefore may Chriſt's words well be verified, 'He that entereth not in at the door into the 'ſheepfold, but climbeth up ſome other way, the ſame 'is a thief and a robber.' And Iſaiah's complaint againſt Jeruſalem taketh place among us, 'Thy princes 'are wicked, and companions of thieves; they love gifts

'gifts altogether, and gape for rewards: as for the fa-
'therleſs, they help not him in his right, neither will
'they let the widow's cauſe come before them.' They will not know their office to be ordained of God, for the wealth and defence of all innocents, for the aid of all that be in miſery. The time is come that Solomon ſpeaketh of, 'When the wicked man bears rule, the
'people ſhall mourn.' When had ever the people ſuch cauſe to mourn as now, when the greateſt number of all magiſtrates are occupied in their own buſineſs; ſeeking rather the miſery of the people, than to take it away; rather to oppreſs them, than to defend them. Their hands be ready to receive their money, to rob and ſpoil them; but their ears are ſhut from hearing their complaints, they are blind to behold their calamities.

Look in all countries how lady Avarice hath ſet on work altogether mighty men, gentlemen, and rich men, to rob and ſpoil the poor; to turn them from their livings and from their right; for ever the weakeſt go to the wall. And being thus tormented, and put from their right at home, they come to London in great numbers, as to a place where juſtice ſhould be had, and there they can have none. They are ſuitors to great men, and cannot come to their ſpeech; their ſervants muſt have bribes, and that no ſmall ones; 'all love bribes.' But ſuch as be ſo dainty to hear the poor, let them take heed leſt God make it as ſtrange to them when they ſhall call: for as Solomon ſaith, 'Whoſo ſtoppeth his ear at
'the crying of the poor, he ſhall cry and not be heard.' We find that poor men might come to complain of their wrongs

wrongs to the king's own perſon. King Joram, although he was one of the ſons of Ahab (no good king) yet heard the poor widow's cauſe, and cauſed her to have right: ſuch was the uſe then.—I would to God that all noblemen would diligently note that chapter, and follow the example: it would not then be ſo hard for the poor to have acceſs to them; nor coming to their preſence, they ſhould not be made ſo aſtoniſhed and even ſpeechleſs with terrible looks, but ſhould mercifully and lovingly be heard, and ſuccoured gladly for Chriſt's love, conſidering we are the members of his body; even as my hand would be glad to help my foot when it is annoyed.—O with what glad hearts and clear conſciences might noblemen go to reſt, when they had beſtowed the whole day in hearing Chriſt himſelf complain in his members, and redreſſing his wrongs! But alas, for lack hereof, poor people are driven to ſeek their right among the lawyers; and there, as the prophet Joel ſaith, look what the caterpillars had left in their robbery and oppreſſion at home, all that doth the greedy locuſts, the lawyers, devour at London: they laugh with the money which maketh others to weep: and thus are the poor robbed on every ſide without redreſs, and that of ſuch as ſeem to have authority thereto.

When Chriſt ſuffered his paſſion, there was one Barabbas, St. Matthew called him a notable thief, a gentleman thief, ſuch as rob now-a-days in velvet coats; the other two were obſcure thieves, and nothing famous. The ruſtical thieves were hanged, and Barabbas was delivered. Even ſo now a-days, the little thieves are hanged that ſteal

of

of neceſſity, but the great Barabbaſes have free liberty to rob and to ſpoil without all meaſure, in the midſt of the city. The poor pirate ſaid to Alexander, 'We rob but a few in a ſhip, but thou robbeſt whole countries and kingdoms.'—Alas, ſilly poor members of Chriſt, how you be ſhorn, oppreſſed, pulled, halled to and fro on every ſide; who cannot but lament, if his heart be not of flint! There be a great number every term, and many continually, which lamentably complain for lack of juſtice, but all in vain. They ſpend that which they had left, and many times more; whoſe ill ſucceſs here cauſeth thouſands to tarry at home beggars, and loſe their right—and ſo it were better, than here to ſell their coats: for this we ſee, be the poor man's cauſe never ſo manifeſt a truth, the rich ſhall for money find ſix or ſeven counſellors that ſhall ſtand with ſubtleties and ſophiſms to cloak an evil matter, and hide a known truth.—A piteous caſe in a chriſtian commonwealth! Alas, that ever manifeſt falſhood ſhould be maintained, where the God of truth ought to be honoured!—But let them alone; they are occupied in their father's buſineſs, even the prince of darkneſs: 'you are of your 'father the devil.'

Yet I cannot ſo leave them; I muſt needs cry on God's behalf to his patrons of juſtice, to you moſt redoubted prince, whom God hath made his miniſter for their defence, with all thoſe whom God hath placed in authority under you. Look upon their miſery, for thi is our heavenly father's buſineſs to you, appointed by his holy word. When I come among the people, I call upon

upon them, as my duty is, for ſervice, duty, and obedience unto their prince, to all magiſtrates, to their lords, and to all that be put in authority over them; I let them hear their own faults: But in this place my duty is, and my conſcience upon God's word bindeth me, ſeeing them ſo miſerably, ſo wrongfully, ſo cruelly intreated on every ſide, in God's behalf to plead their cauſe; not by force of man's law, but by God's word, as an interceſſor. For as they are debtors unto you, and other magiſtrates, for love, fear, ſervice, and obedience under God; ſo are you again debtors unto them for love, protection, for juſtice and equity, mercy and pity. If you deny them theſe, they muſt ſuffer, but God ſhall revenge them. 'He ſtandeth, ſaith David, 'in the congregation of gods, and as a judge among gods'. Take heed all you that be counted as gods, God's miniſters on earth; you have one God judge over you, who, as he ſaith in the ſame pſalm, ſharply rebuketh ungodly rulers for accepting of perſons of the ungodly; ſo he telleth chriſtian magiſtrates their true duties and buſineſs in plain words, 'Defend the poor and needy, 'ſee that ſuch as be in neceſſity have right, deliver the 'outcaſt and poor, ſave them from the hands of the 'ungodly.' Here have all noblemen and chriſtian magiſtrates moſt lively ſet forth to them their heavenly father's buſineſs, wherein he would have them continually occupied:—would to God the whole pſalm were graven in their hearts!

Truly for lack that this buſineſs is not applied, but the poor deſpiſed in all places, it hath given ſuch boldneſs

neſs to covetous cormorants abroad, that now their robberies, extortion, and open oppreſſion, hath no end nor limits, no banks can keep in their violence. As for turning poor men out of their holds, they take it for no offence, but ſay, their land is their own; and forget altogether that 'the earth is the Lord's, and the ful-'neſs thereof.' They turn them out of their ſhrouds as mice. Thouſands in England, through ſuch, beg now from door to door, which have kept honeſt houſes. Theſe cry daily to God for vengeance, both againſt the great Nimrods, workers thereof, and their maintainers. There be ſo many mighty Nimrods in England, mighty hunters, that hunt for poſſeſſions and lordſhips, that poor men are daily hunted out of their livings; there is no covert or den can keep them ſafe. Theſe Nimrods have ſuch quick ſmelling hounds, they can lie at London and turn men out of their farms and tenements an hundred, ſome two hundred miles off.—O Lord, when wicked Ahab hunted after Naboth's vineyard, he could not, though he were a king, obtain that prey, till curſed Jezebel (as women oft-times have ſhrewd wits) took the matter in hand: ſo hard a thing it was then to wring a man from his father's inheritance, which now a mean man will take in hand. And now our valiant Nimrods can compaſs the matter without the help of Jezebels; yet hath England even now a great number of Jezebels, which to maintain their intolerable pride, their golden heads, will not ſtick to put to their wicked hands.—O Lord, what a number of ſuch oppreſſors, worſe than Ahab, are in England, which 'ſell the poor 'for a pair of ſhoes!' of whom if God ſhould ſerve but

three or four, as he did Ahab, and make the dogs lap the blood of them, I think it would cauſe a great number to beware of extortion, to beware of oppreſſion: and yet, eſcaping temporal puniſhments, they are certain by God's word, their blood is reſerved for hell-hounds, which they nothing fear. A pitiful caſe, and great blindneſs, that, hearing God's word, man ſhould more fear temporal puniſhment than everlaſting.

Yet hath England had of late ſome terrible examples of God's wrath in ſudden and ſtrange deaths of ſuch as join field to field, and houſe to houſe: great pity they were not chronicled to the terror of others, which fear neither God nor man; ſo hardened in ſin, that they ſeek not to hide it, but rather are ſuch as glory in their miſchief. Which maketh me oftentimes to remember a writer in our time, Muſculus, uppon St. Matthew's goſpel, which marvelled much at the ſubtle and manifold working of Satan; how he after the expelling of ſuperſtition and hypocriſy, travelleth moſt buſily to bring in open impiety: that whereas before, men feared men, though not God; now a great number fear neither God nor man: the moſt wicked are counted moſt manlike, and innocency holden beaſtlineſs.

Yet may we not ſay, hypocriſy is expelled: for as many of theſe Ahabs as ſignify they favour God's word by reading or hearing it, or with prayer, 'honouring him, 'as Chriſt ſaith, with their lips, their hearts being far 'from him,' are as deteſtable hypocrites as ever were covered in cowl or cloyſter. I cannot liken them better than

than to the Jews, that ſaid to Chriſt, 'Hail, king of 'the Jews.' What their painted friendſhip is, and how of Chriſt it is eſteemed, St. Auſtin ſetteth forth by an apt ſimilitude: 'Even as, ſaith he, a man ſhould 'come up to embrace thee, to kiſs and honour thee 'upward, and beneath, with a pair of ſhoes beaten full 'of nails, tread upon thy bare foot; the head ſhall 'deſpiſe the honour done unto it, and for the foot that 'ſmarteth, ſay, Why treadeſt thou upon me? So 'when feigned goſpellers honour Chriſt our head ſitting 'in heaven, and oppreſs his members on earth, the head 'ſhall ſpeak for the feet that ſmart, and ſay, Why 'treadeſt thou on me?' Paul had a zeal towards God, but he did tread upon Chriſt's feet on earth, for whom the head crieth forth of heaven, 'Saul, Saul, why 'perſecuteſt thou me?' Although Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of his father, yet lieth he in earth, he ſuffereth all calamities here on earth, he is many times evil intreated here on earth.

Would to God we could bear away this brief and ſhort leſſon, that what we do to his members upon earth, we do to him; it would bring men from oppreſſion to ſhew mercy, without which no man can obtain mercy. If they would remember how the rich glutton was damned in hell, not as we read for any violence, but for not ſhewing mercy, they might ſoon gather how ſharp judgment remaineth for them, which are not only unmerciful, but alſo violently add thereunto oppreſſion; who are ſo far from mercy that their hearts will ſerve them to deſtroy whole towns; they would wiſh all the

people deſtroyed, to have all the fields brought to a ſheep paſture. O cruel mercy! It is like to the mercy of a biſhop of Magunce in Germany, named Hatto, which, as the chronicles mention, five hundred years ago, in time of a great dearth, called all the poor people in all the whole country into a great barn, pretending to make a great dole; but having them ſure, he fired the barn, and burnt them all up, ſaying, 'Theſe be the mice which devour 'up the corn.' This was a policy to make bread more cheap, but for this unmerciful mercy, God made him an example for all unmerciful men to the world's end; for a multitude of rats came and devoured him in ſuch terrible ſort, that where his name was written in windows, walls or hangings, they never ceaſed till it were razed out. —Some peradventure ſhrink to hear ſuch cruelty: but doubtleſs there is almoſt daily as great cruelty practiſed among us by ſuch blood-ſuckers, as being infected with the great dropſy of avarice, alway drinking and ever a-thirſt, by famiſhing poor people, drinking up their blood, and with long continuance therein, torment them more grievouſly than he that burnt them all in one hour.

Now ſeeing, as I ſaid, this cruelty, robbery, and extortion, groweth daily to ſuch intolerable exceſs, and overfloweth this realm, becauſe it is not puniſhed nor reſtrained; it is high time for all thoſe magiſtrates that fear God, not only to abſtain from this evil themſelves, but to reſiſt it alſo. It is God's buſineſs, he hath commanded it, and will ſtraitly require it. Would to God all noblemen would beware by the example of Saul.

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He was commanded to apply God's buſineſs, 'Go 'and ſmite Amalek, and have no compaſſion on them,' &c. he left his buſineſs undone, ſpared Amalek, and the faireſt of the beaſts: but for this negligence he received of Samuel a ſorrowful meſſage from God; 'be-'cauſe thou haſt caſt away the word of the Lord, he 'hath caſt thee off alſo from being king.' Even ſo in every chriſtian commonwealth, God hath commanded rulers to deſtroy Amalek, all extortion, oppreſſion, and robbery, to defend the needy and all innocents. If they look not to this buſineſs, but ſuffer Amalek to live, not only to live, but to grow in might; ſo truly as God liveth, he ſhall caſt them off, they ſhall not be his magiſtrates.

But let it once be known, that not only our moſt noble king, whoſe godly example is a lantern to all other, but that alſo all his nobles about him have wholly bent themſelves in his buſineſs, to withſtand all violence, and to oppoſe all oppreſſion, for defence of God's people; that the wicked Ahabs might know, that God had in England a great number of paſtors, patrons, feeders and cheriſhers of his people: it ſhould do that which the fear of God cannot do; that is, ſtop the great rage of violence, oppreſſion, and extortion: which taken away, would pluck from many their vanity in ſuperfluous and monſtrous apparel, ſumptuous building, ſuch as ſeek to bring Paradiſe into earth, being the greateſt cauſes of all oppreſſion and ſpoiling of poor people; which moſt unchriſtian vanities, and blind affections, never reigned ſo much in all eſtates in England

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as at this day. It was a notable ſaying of Charles V. emperor of that name, to the duke of Venice, when he had ſeen his princely palace; when the duke looked that he ſhould have praiſed it exceedingly, Charles gave it none other commendation but this, 'Hæc ſunt quæ 'faciunt invitos mori: Theſe earthly vanities, ſaid he, 'are what make us loth to die.' A truer ſentence could not well be ſpoken by any man. I could wiſh we would look on all our buildings, when the beauty thereof ſo increaſeth, that it would grieve us to depart from it, and to remember with all the holy patriarchs, and with St. Paul ſay, that 'we have not here a continuing ci-'ty, but we ſeek one to come.'

But truly methinks now in England, for our vain delight in curious buildings, God hath plagued us, as he did the builders of Babel, not with the confuſion of tongues, but with the confuſion of wits. Our fancies can never be pleaſed: pluck down and ſet up, and when it contenteth us not, down with it again. Our minds are never contented, nor ever ſhall be, while we ſeek felicity where it is not. Would God every one would conſider what a hell it ſhould be to all that vainly delight herein, when death ſhall with great violence pluck them from their earthly heaven. Moreover, extortion taken away ſhall ſoon abate the unmeaſurable exceſs in coſtly fare. It would alſo abate the intolerable exceſs in apparel, which cauſeth us to have robbers in velvet coats, with St. Martin's chains.—But I muſt for lack of time paſs over theſe enormities, which alone give

matter

matter enough for whole ſermons: I leave them for others which ſhall follow, more able to paint out ſuch monſters in their colours.

And here in concluſion, I deſire all noblemen and godly magiſtrates, deeply to ponder and revolve in their memory what acceptable ſervice they may do, chiefly to God, and ſecondly to the king's majeſty, and his whole realm, in employing their whole ſtudy how to reſiſt all ſuch as ſpoil Chriſt's people, whom he ſo tenderly loved that he ſhed his blood for them. Virtue joined with nobility ſpreadeth her beams over a whole realm. And ſo your diligence in God's buſineſs ſhall ſoon inflame all other to follow your example, that all may occupy themſelves in God's buſineſs.

But now that I have hitherto charged the eccleſiaſtical miniſters, and after, the civil governors, and all rich and mighty men with negligence in God's buſineſs; methinks I do hear the inferior members rejoice and flatter themſelves, as if all were taken from them, and they left clear in God's ſight: but if they conſider their eſtate by God's word, they ſhall find ſmall cauſe to advance themſelves. For God's word plainly telleth us, both that evil and dumb paſtors, and wicked rulers and magiſtrates, are ſent of God, as a plague and puniſhment for the ſins of the people; and therefore, both Iſaiah and Hoſea, after the moſt terrible threatenings of God's vengeance for ſin, bring it in as a moſt grievous plague of all, that even the prieſts, which ſhould call them from ſin, ſhall become as evil as the people. Which plague St. Bernard ſaid in his time

time was come with a vengeance, for becauſe the prieſts were much worſe than the people. And Amos, as a moſt grievous puniſhment of all other, threatneth hunger, not of bread, but of hearing God's word. And concerning the civil magiſtrates, it is plain in Job, that for the ſins of the people God raiſeth hypocrites to reign over them; that is to ſay, ſuch as have the bare names of governors and protectors, and are indeed deſtroyers, oppreſſors of the people, ſubverters of the law and of all equity.

And ſeeing it is ſo, ſo many as feel the grief and ſmart of this plague, ought not to murmur againſt other; but patiently ſuffer, and be offended with their own ſins, which have deſerved this ſcourge, and much more; and ſtudy for amendment, that God may take it away. For if they continue as they do, to murmur againſt God and their rulers, as the Iſraelites did, to provoke daily his anger by multiplying ſin in his ſight, with envy, malice, deceit, backbiting, ſwearing, fornication, and with utter contempt of his word; he ſhall for their puniſhment ſo multiply the number of evil governors, unjuſt judges, juſtices, and officers, that as it was ſpoken by a jeſter in the emperor Claudius's time, the images of good magiſtrates may all be graven in one ring.

God hath cauſe greatly to be diſpleaſed with all eſtates. When every man ſhould look upon his own faults to ſeek amendment, as it is a proverb lately ſprung up, 'No man amendeth himſelf, but every man ſeeketh

ſeeketh to amend other,' and all the while nothing is amended. Gentlemen ſay, the commonalty live too well at eaſe, they grow every day to be gentlemen, and know not themſelves; their horns muſt be cut ſhorter, by raiſing their rents, by fines, and by plucking away their paſtures.—The mean men, they murmur and grudge, and ſay, the gentlemen have all, and there were never ſo many gentlemen and ſo little gentleneſs: and by their natural logic you ſhall hear them reaſon, how improperly theſe two conjugata, theſe yoak fellows, gentlemen and gentleneſs, are baniſhed ſo far aſunder; and they lay all the miſery of this commonwealth upon the gentlemen's ſhoulders.—But alas, good chriſtians, this is not the way of amendment: 'If ye bite and devour one another, as St. Paul ſaith, 'take ye heed leſt ye be conſumed one of another.'

Hiſtories make mention of a people called Anthropophagi, eaters of men, which all men's hearts abhor to hear of; and yet, alas, by St. Paul's rule, England is full of ſuch man-eaters. Every man envieth another, every man biteth and gnaweth upon another with venomous adders tongues, far more noiſome than any teeth. And whereof cometh it? Covetouneſs is the root of all; every man ſcratcheth and pilleth from other; every man would ſuck the blood of other; every man encroacheth upon another. Covetouſneſs hath cut away the large wings of charity, and plucketh all to herſelf; ſhe is never ſatisfied; ſhe hath cheſted all the old gold in England, and much of the new; ſhe hath made that there was never more idolatry in England than at this day: but the idols are hid, they come not abroad.—

abroad.—Alas, noble prince, the images of your anceſtors graven in gold, and yours alſo, contrary to your mind, are worſhipped as Gods; while the poor lively images of Chriſt periſh in the ſtreets through hunger and cold. This cometh when covetouſneſs hath baniſhed from amongſt us chriſtian charity; when, like moſt unthankful children, we have forgotten Chriſt's laſt will, which he ſo often before his paſſion did inculcate, 'Love one another.'

And herein we ſhew ourſelves worſe than any carnal ſons; be they never ſo unkind, yet alway they remember the laſt words of their earthly parents. Nay rather I may ſay, we are much worſe than the brute beaſts; of whom, when we conſider how wonderfully nature hath framed them to concord and unity, to preſerve and help one another of their own kind, it may make us utterly to be aſhamed. The harts ſwimming, with much pain bear up their heads in the water; for the remedy whereof, every one layeth his head upon the hinder part of another: when the foremoſt, having no ſtay, is ſore weary, he cometh behind, and thus every one in his courſe taketh pain for the whole herd. —If men, endued with reaſon, would learn of theſe unreaſonable creatures this leſſon, to help one another, as we are commanded by St. Paul, ſaying, 'Bear ye 'one another's burthen, and ſo you ſhall fulfil the law, 'of Chriſt,' how ſoon then ſhould charity, the bond of perfection, which ſeeketh not her own, but rather to profit others, be ſo ſpread among all degrees, that our commonwealth ſhould flouriſh in all godlineſs? But

alas!

alas! we ſee that all goeth contrary. For while all men, as St. Paul ſaith, 'ſeek the things that be their 'own, and not other men's, not things which apper-'tain to Chriſt,' ſelf-love, and love of private commodity, hath baniſhed charity and love to the commonwealth.

And if we ſhould ſeek the cauſe and ground of all theſe evils, why God's buſineſs is ſo neglected among all eſtates and degrees, I think it would appear to be ignorance of his will. For if Mary and Joſeph, ſo godly and devout a couple, underſtood not for a time Chriſt's ſaying, 'Wiſt ye not that I muſt go about my 'father's buſineſs? as St. Luke ſaith, they underſtood 'not that ſaying,' what marvel is it, if we, living ſo carnally, and drowned in worldly pleaſures, and framed to the ſhape of this world, be ignorant in our heavenly father's buſineſs, and therefore cannot well apply it? But ſhall we think this to be very ſtrange? Many apply not God's buſineſs nor his will, which yet would diſdain to be counted ignorant therein. But undoubtedly, good chriſtians, it is an infallible verity, that negligence in performing God's will cometh of ignorance. It is all one to know God and his will; and St. John ſaith plainly, 'He that loveth not, knoweth not God.' For if he do know God, he cannot but love him; and love is always occupied in God's buſineſs.

By this rule St. Auguſtine proveth, we cannot keep the firſt precept perfectly, to love God, ſo well as we ought to do while we are in this mortal life; for all our love cometh

cometh of knowledge, but in this life our knowledge is imperfect. And thus St Auguſtine's rule, grounded upon St. John, is true, 'That ſo far as we do know God, 'ſo far we love him; and ſo they that love him nothing 'at all, they know him nothing at all, although they ſeem 'to have never ſo much windy knowledge, puffing up 'their ſtomachs with preſumption,' as the apoſtle ſaith, 'Knowledge maketh a man ſwell:' ſo that if a man hath ſtudied the ſcripture all his life long, and learned the whole bible by heart, and yet have no love, he is ignorant of God's will. The poor man that never opened book, if the love of God be ſhed abroad in his Heart by the Holy Ghoſt, overcometh him in the knowledge of God's will. The godly Pembus, of whom we read in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, when he was firſt taught the firſt verſe of the thirty ninth pſalm, 'I have ſaid, I will take 'heed to my ways, that I offend not in my tongue,' refuſed a long time to take out a new leſſon, judging his firſt leſſon to be unlearned, till he could perfectly practiſe it by an holy converſation. So ought we always to make our account to have learned God's word, only when we have learned charity and obedience.

But this knowledge, though it lack in many learned, yet ordinarily it cometh by hearing God's word, 'Faith 'cometh of hearing, and hearing of the word of God.' Wherefore, as I ſaid, their caſe is to be lamented, which would gladly hear God's word, and can have no preachers. Then may we ſay, God hath abundantly poured his grace among us, that have his goſpel ſo clearly ſet forth unto us, and have ſuch opportunity, that there wanteth

wanteth nothing but ears to hear: we muſt have ears to let it ſink into our hearts. But, O men, thrice unhappy, and children of greater damnation, if we harden our hearts, and receive ſuch abundance of grace in vain. 'The earth, ſaith St. Paul, which after the rain bringeth 'forth thorns and briars, is reproved, and is nigh unto 'curſing, whoſe end is to be burned.'

Would God all that be in the court, that will not vouchſafe (having ſo many godly ſermons) to come forth out of the hall into the chapel to hear them, would remember what a heavy ſtroke of God's vengeance hangeth over all their heads that contemn his word; and over thoſe in all places, which had rather be idle, and many times ungodly occupied in wanton and wicked paſtimes, than come to the church; profaneing the ſabbath day, appointed for the ſervice of God, and the hearing of his word, beſtowing it more wickedly than many of the Gentiles. Yet if they would come to the ſermons, though their hearts were not well diſpoſed, God's word might win them, as St Auguſtine was won by the preaching of St Ambroſe, when he came only to hear his ſweet voice and eloquence. O that they knew what diſhonour they did to Chriſt, that eſteem him ſo light, to prefer vain, nay, I ſay wicked things, to the hearing of his holy word. Are not theſe they, as St Paul ſaith, 'which tread under foot the ſon of God, count the blood 'of his teſtament, wherein they are ſanctified, an un-'holy thing; and do deſpite to the ſpirit of Grace?' O Lord, how canſt thou hold thy hands from puniſhing this unthankfulneſs? Certainly I think all other wicked-

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neſs compared to this, is ſhadowed, and ſeemeth to be leſs.

I would to God we would remember many times the plagues and tokens of God's extreme wrath that came upon the Jews, when firſt unthankfully they rejected Chriſt, and after his word; when they were deſtroyed by Titus and Veſpaſian, ſuch a plague as never came upon any other country. And look on their vices; there reigned avarice, ambition, pride, extortion, envy, adultery; but theſe reigned alſo in other countries about, where no ſuch vengeance did light: but then did God thus exerciſe his wrath upon them to the terror of all other, for contempt of his holy word, and for their unthankfulneſs; which being called ſo many ways, by his prophets, by himſelf, by the apoſtles, ſtill hardened their hearts: this exceeded all other wickedneſs in the world. Now if as great unthankfulneſs be found in many of us towards Chriſt and his goſpel, ſet forth ſo plainly unto us, how can we, without ſpeedy repentance, but look for the terrible ſtroke of vengeance. 'God, ſaith Valerius Maximus, hath feet of wool; he 'cometh ſlowly to puniſh, but he hath hands of iron; 'when he cometh, he ſtriketh ſore.'

Philip, king of Macedonia, hearing of one in his kingdom which refuſed moſt unthankfully to receive a ſtranger, (of whom before he had been ſuccoured in ſhipwreck) in extreme need; for a worthy puniſhment, cauſed to be printed in his forehead with an hot iron theſe two words, 'Ingratus hoſpes, An unthankful 'gueſt.'

'gueſt.' O Lord, if we conſider when we were ſtrangers from God, in the ſhipwreck of ſin, how mercifully Chriſt hath delivered us, and born our ſins upon his body; if after all this, we moſt unthankfully refuſe to receive him, by refuſing his word, may we not think ourſelves worthy many hot irons to print our unthankfulneſs to our ſhame? And undoubtedly, ſo many as continue thus unthankful, though it be not written in their foreheads to put them to worldly ſhame, yet ſhall it be graven in their conſcience, to their everlaſting confuſion and damnation, when 'the books of every 'man's conſcience ſhall be laid open,' as Daniel ſaith. Their judgment ſhall be more ſtrait than that of Sodom and Gomorrah.—Let us all then, from the higheſt to the loweſt, pray with one accord, that God may ſoften and prepare our hearts with meekneſs, and humility, and thankfulneſs, to embrace his goſpel, and his holy word; which ſhall inſtruct us in his holy will, and teach us to know his buſineſs, every man in his vocation, 'that, 'as St. Paul ſaith, every man may give attendance to 'themſelves, and to the flock, wherein the holy Ghoſt 'hath made them overſeers, to feed the congregation of 'God which he hath purchaſed with his blood,' that all ravenous wolves may be turned to good ſhepherds. So that Chriſt's miniſters may enjoy the portion aſſigned for the goſpel; that all magiſtrates and governors may give their whole ſtudy to the public weal, and not to their private wealth; that they may be maintainers of juſtice, and puniſhers of wrong; and that all inferiors may live in due obedience, meekly contenting themſelves every one in their vocation, without murmuring

muring or grudging; that under Chriſt, and our noble prince, his miniſter here on earth, we all being knit together with chriſtian charity, the bond of perfection, may ſo faſten our eyes upon God's word, that it may continually be a lantern to our feet, to guide our journey through the deſart and dark wilderneſs of this world, that our eyes be never ſo blinded with ſhadows of worldly things, as to make us embrace life, deceitful and temporal felicity, for that which is true, ſtedfaſt, and everlaſting; that this candle which ſhineth now, as St. Paul ſaith, 'as through a glaſs darkly,' when that which is imperfect ſhall be taken away, may preſent us to that clear light, which never is ſhadowed with any darkneſs; that we may behold that bleſſed ſight of the glorious Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, to whom be all praiſe, all honour, and glory world without end.

FINIS.